Note also my ʿayumus (Z. ʿyungus, but Bu. -umus) *tongue*.

A few of the words given above have not been noted before, or only by Z. In order to corroborate the forms heard only by *one* previous observer I give also the other words in my list which are not included in L.'s vocabulary:

-muš *nose;* -xut *mouth:* -sesen *elbow;* aken *liver;* sau *sand;* guʏr *wheat;* girkis *mouse:* sar *hare;* aʿynst *my sister;* all identical with Z.'s forms. -šak (Z. šak) *arm;* -uʏru (Z. ʿuru) *nail;* ʿirič (iʿrič) *kidney;* bap (Z. baʿp) *father;* yainżi (ʏanji) *water-mill;* daʿʏom (Z. daʏum) *flour*.

Göteborg, 30th November 1934.

Georg Morgenstierne.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

In a letter from Hunza of 18th Nov. 1934 Colonel Lorimer gives some additional information about some Bu. sounds, from which I quote the following passages: "I have now heard from QUB and one or two others in Aliabad initial 1) ᵏɣ- (going also into > gɣ- > g-), medial -ɣ- seems to remain plain spirant. 2) ᵏx- (or ᵍx-?). This QUB always says is "xe". x-, but I tend to record it as kh-. Medially, to both our minds it changes into -q- (*-xəras, ixəras *to cut up*, but ppe. niqər; xəraʇas *to stick, adhere*. but cs. *-ʌqəratas). Then there is ph-, pf-, f- which is an instance of the same phenomenon. I haven't noticed any tendency to *w-* > ᵇw, and there are no dental spirants".

[Ad p. XII, l. 12. — But cf. e. g. Luganda; v. BSOS. VII, p. 917. — Corr. note].

Göteborg, 18th January 1935.

Georg Morgenstierne.

The Burushaski Language 1935
by
Lt. Col. D. L. R. Lorimer
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INTRODUCTION.

THE LAND and the PEOPLE.

Burushaski, the main subject of the present work, is spoken in the States of Hunza and Nagir, which give a name to that tangle of snow-crowned mountains, long-drawn glaciers and deep-cut river beds that form the western extremities of the Karakoram and Kailās ranges of the Geographers. In elevation and ruggedness the tract may compare with any other portion of the earth's surface. The ground covered by the twin States is roughly defined by the lines 74° 10′ and 75° 40′ of East longitude and 36° and 37° 10′ of North latitude. Of this area the bulk falls to Hunza. Hunza marches on the North with Afghan and Chinese territory, from which it is divided by an immense mountain barrier traversable only by a few very high passes — the Irshad (16,060 ft.), the Kilik (15,600), the Mintaka (15,430) and the Khunjerāb.

The southern drainage from this range quickly assembles a few miles below Misgār to form the Hunza river, which proceeds southwards through the Hèrber or Gujhāl valley, or rather gorge. On its way the river receives reinforcement by tributaries from either side — the principal being the Batūra and Pasu glaciers on the West and the Shimshāl valley on the East. About 15 miles East of Baltit, the capital of Hunza, the river changes to a general westerly course, and level with Baltit it receives on its left bank the waters of the Nagir river which represent the meltings of the

Hispār, Barpu and other large glaciers. Henceforth until Chalt is reached, where it turns South, the river forms the boundary between Hunza on the North and Nagir on the South. Chalt itself and the Chaprōt valley which debouches into it belong to Nagir. Otherwise Nagir is confined, generally speaking, to the valley of the Hispar glacier and Nagir river and the northern slopes of the Kailas range, the crest of which forms the dividing line between it and Gilgit.

On the extreme East Hunza marches with the Oprang valley in Chinese territory and southwards with Baltistan, but the mountain range which separates these regions is scarcely surmountable (v. Text XXVIII). On the extreme West again, Hunza and Nagir territory terminates on a lofty range which runs roughly North and South and is only traversable with difficulty by a couple of passes, the Chillinji (17,000 ft.) and the Daintar (15,210). Beyond lies the sparsely-inhabited valley of Ishkoman, which again is bounded on its western side by a North and South range of mountains on the further side of which is situated the Wershigūm valley, known officially as the Yasīn 'Iläqa. This Wershigum valley is the habitat of the Werchikwār language, a variant form of Burushaski, to which brief reference is made in this work.

From the West of Hunza to the East of Wershigum is as the crow flies a mere 20 or 30 miles, but the traveller will spend six days and cover some 115 miles in making his way from Chalt via Gilgit and Gupis to Yasin. Such is this country where cross-country travel is impossible and practicable routes can be found only by following the natural lines of least resistance, and that not without pain.

I have now placed our language on the map, approximately, but greater precision is required. In the first place we have to take account of the fact that the bulk of Hunza and the eastern portion of Nagir are uninhabited and uninhabitable. Permanent population exists only on the elevated terraces that skirt in places the sides of the river valleys.

In the second place we have to note that the population of Hunza and Nagir is neither linguistically nor ethnologically homogeneous. Viewing the territories as a whole, Burushaski occupies only a limited central position. It is legitimate perhaps to see in this an indication that the country has been subject to more or less peaceful penetration from the periphery, but that it has never been overwhelmed by any flood of conquest or organised immigration. We may picture Burushaski as here standing at bay — a language which has once covered a much larger area and has gradually been driven in on its least assailable territory, or has been displaced and pushed back to a final refuge.

The country with its physical savageness and poverty could never have attracted the ambition or cupidity of any sane conqueror, and with easier routes available to the West there is little reason to believe that any serious invader has traversed or even penetrated it in force. Against this argument, however, are to be set the efforts of the Dogras of Jammu and Kashmir to penetrate and master the country in the nineteenth century. Their aim was doubtless to strengthen their position in Gilgit.

The relative strengths of the languages current in Hunza and Nagir are set out in the following tables, which are based on figures collected for the 1931 Census, and on the results of private enquiries as to the language spoken in each individual village.

District	Number speaking			Total Population 1931 Census
	Burushaski	Shinā	Wakhi	
Hunza . . .	9,938	1,184	2,411	13,533
Nagir . . .	10,362	3,293	—	13,655
Total . . .	20,300	4,477	2,411	27,188

To obtain the absolute total numbers of known Burushaski-speakers 513 must be added to the total of the first column on

account of 512 Burushaski-speakers recorded in the 1931 Census as resident in the Gilgit Wazarat, and one as resident in North Kashmir. The total thus becomes 20,813[1].

The local distribution of these linguistic groups has now to be considered. On examination it will be found that they fall in the main within definite and unbroken geographical limits. In Hunza from the North southwards down the Herber valley, to and including Galmit the population are Wakhis, speaking Wakhi, with the exception of the inhabitants of Khudāabād (population 97), Nazīmābād (82) and Misgār (174). Proceeding down, southwards and westwards, through Hunza, the rest of the population are Burushaski-speaking with the exception of the two villages, Hīndi (977) and Māyūn (207) whose primary language is Shinā.

In Nagir there are no Wakhi-speakers, but the Burushaski-Shina dividing line falls at practically the same point as in Hunza, viz. at Mīnapin opposite Hindi. From and including Minapin down the valley, with the exception of Sikandarābād (406, a recent settlement) and Chalt (587), the people of Nagir are primarily Shina-speakers.

It is to be remarked, however, that these radical linguistic distinctions are to a large extent masked, if not superficially deleted, by bilingualism. I believe that all Shina-speakers of both Hunza and Nagir readily understand and speak Burushaski. This is not so with the Wakhis, of whom only a few know the language of their neighbours. On the other hand the Wakhis have imposed their own language on the Burusho settled in Shimshal, and Wakhi elements are to be found in place-names in all the northern part of the country.

How far do these linguistic divisions represent also ethnic divisions? Are the Wakhi-speakers (Guwīcho, sg. Guits, Guwiːčo, Guiːts), the Burushaski-speakers (Burūsho, sg. Burūshin, Buruːšo, Buruːšiːn) and the Shina-speakers (sg. and pl. Shèn, Šeːn) to be regarded as racially distinct peoples?

[1] The figure 26,076 given in the Kashmir Census Report 1931, Vol. XXV p. 237, appears to be incorrect. It is still incorrect if the figures for Werchikwar are taken into account.

In the first case the answer is easy. The Wakhis are certainly of totally distinct stock from the Burusho. Much more difficult is the question of the relation of the Burusho and the Shina-speakers. My visual impressions would lead me to regard the Shèn of lower Nagir as an essentially different people from the Burusho of Hunza. They seem to me to represent a distinctly lower type in regard to apparent mentality and sanitary ideals. A large proportion of the child-population of Minapin and the villages below it are cretinous in appearance and dirty in person. I have not had an opportunity of comparing the people of the Hunza Shèn villages of Hindi and Mayun, either with their Nagir *vis à vis* or with their Būrusho fellow-"nationals". How far again is there any difference between the Burusho of Hunza and the Burusho of Nagir? That is a question which I cannot answer from any adequate personal observation; but it is the general impression among European visitors that there is a marked difference in temperament between the two peoples. The Hunza Burusho are felt to be a happy and cheerful people, their Nagir counterparts give an impression of something approaching sombreness and depression. This alleged difference is attributed to the effect of living respectively on the sunny and on the shady, in winter almost sunless, side of the valley. It might also be in part attributable to political conditions or religious outlook.

There is a further criterion which is of dubious value, but may be worth brief mention here. In 1924 I took a number of anthropometrical measurements of men of all parts of the Gilgit Political Agency. The subjects were members of the Gilgit corps of Scouts, and so were all men in their prime, mostly in early manhood. These measurements were recorded uninstructedly according to an antiquated scheme of Topinard's and modern experts have judged them not worth wasting time and labour on, but they were taken on a consistent technique and are therefore comparable among themselves. I shall quote here only measurements which, in the nature of things, it seems probable are reasonably correct. The figures given are averages obtained by dividing the sum total of measurements in each case by the number of subjects.

District	Number of Subjects	Head Measurements in Centimetres			Cephalic Index	Height in Feet & Ins.
		Ant.-Posterior Diameter	Transverse Diameter	Frontal Minimum		
Hunza . .	138	19·135	14·833	10·423	76·854	5′ 6$\frac{6}{11}$″
Nagir . .	152	19·411	14·256	9·536	73·424	5′ 5$\frac{1}{2}$″
Yasin . .	78	19·085	14·788	10·413	77·714	5′ 6$\frac{1}{20}$″
Gilgit . .	40	19·362	14·493	10·075	74·931	5′ 4$\frac{15}{16}$″
Astor . .	43	19·005	14·494	10·197	76·306	5′ 3$\frac{1}{2}$″
Punial . .	65	19·165	14·611	10·342	76·286	5′ 5$\frac{13}{15}$″
Kuh-Ghizer	78	19·099	14·791	10·217	77·432	5′ 5$\frac{10}{11}$″

Without allowing too much importance to these figures, we may tentatively accept a considerable difference between the Hunza and Nagir subjects in cephalic index and its factors, in frontal minimum and in height. The Nagir type seems to approximate to the Gilgit type, while the Hunza type approaches to that of Yasin. These conclusions receive further support from a detailed examination of the figures. I have plotted the numbers under each figure of the anterior-posterior and transverse diameters of the head, and of the height, and very similar curves are yielded by the Hunza and Yasin records; and the same holds of the Nagir and Gilgit records.

My own visual impressions, however, for what they are worth, would suggest that in physique and feature there is a perceptible difference between the Burushaski-speakers of Hunza and the Werchikwar-speakers of Yasin. It is to be noted that both the Hunza and Nagir subjects are almost entirely Burusho; only a few individuals of those measured came from the Shina-speaking villages. This difference in the attitude to a very mild form of militarism may indicate an inherent difference of temperament. On the other hand it may be due to economic or other unsuspected causes.

Among the vast and savage mountains of the Western Karakoram, which are generally devoid of a blade of grass, and of which the surface by falls of cliff and boulders, the slipping of detritus, and the down-pouring of mud-floods, is kept in a constantly raw and unstable state, nature has made it possible for a small population to maintain itself, in the sweat of its brow, by agriculture and the pasturing of small cattle.

Terraces, apparently the remains of glacial deposits, supplemented it may be by downpourings from the mountain sides, have been left here and there along the sides of the valleys of the main rivers, at a height usually of some hundreds of feet above their stony beds. Where water for irrigation can be obtained from side-ravines these tracts can be cultivated. Without irrigation no cultivation is possible. There are no rain-watered cereal crops and water cannot be raised from the main river. The surface of these terraces is not flat, but slopes down at every kind of angle from the hillsides till the terraces end in abrupt earth-cliffs descending to the river beds. As the ground has to be irrigated it also has to be more or less levelled, otherwise all the soil would soon be washed away. This is accomplished by constructing terraced fields, the lower edges of which are supported by revetting walls built up of the rounded stones available in the diluvium. This revetting is highly skilled work, and is beautifully carried out, and maintained in perfect repair by the Hunzukuts. The Nagirkuts seem on the whole to be less strenuous workers and less tidy-minded cultivators.

There remains the task of constructing channels to bring water from where it is available, often miles away. These channels are designed with precision and executed with great resource and ingenuity, often being carried on revetted or galleried aqueducts across cliff faces. Having made your land and brought your water, it still remains to elaborate a system of distributing the water among the various communities or individuals entitled to a share of it.

Pressure of population in recent years has led to constant endeavours to devise means of providing water supplies for tracts of waterless but cultivable land. Where land and water have been

brought together, the following are the principal crops grown in Hunza and Nagir: wheat, barley, two or three kinds of millet, buckwheat, broad beans, peas and various pulses, lucerne (yielding two crops) for fodder. Maize and rice are not grown at these levels[1]. Lucerne is often grown on the sloping unterraced hillside where water is insufficient for crops. Fruit is also an important item of cultivation. The apricot is universal, and fresh and dry the fruit is a staple food. Besides its kernels are collected and eaten, or crushed for their oil. Apples, peaches, cherries, cherry-plums and grapes are also extensively grown, but do not appear to be dried, though apples and grapes are stored in straw for some months. Pears, pomegranates and walnuts are cultivated in places. The mulberry is eaten fresh and is also dried and preserved. Poplars and willows are grown for their timber, and in the lower tracts the chenar.

Agricultural crops and fruit would not however provide a complete subsistence. Goats, sheep and a small type of cow supply the necessary milk and fat products, particularly ghee, also hair for ropes and coarse cloth, wool for clothing, skins and hides for containing vessels, foot-wear and thongs. These cattle are kept in the villages during the cool and cold weather, when they are fed on such scanty natural grazing as is to be found, agricultural waste and dried leaves, and pay their way by providing milk and manure. During the hot months they are sent up in charge of herds to the few summer grazing-grounds (tĕr, pl. tĕrming; te·r, te·rmiŋ), which exist in the higher parts of some of the nullahs. There their milk is collected and converted into forms in which it will keep: ghee, dried buttermilk etc.

[1] I.e. from about 7000′ upwards. Chhalt, the lowest village in the country, stands at 6560′. Māyūn and Hindi are probably about 7000′ and Aliābād about 7300′. Baltit is 8000′ and Nagir 7550′. Misgār, the highest place at which the Burusho have been induced to live, is 10.158′. It is said that the Burusho women refuse to go where the apricot will not ripen, and there are few Burusho settled above 8000′. In Chupūrsan and Shimshāl the Wakhis are found up to about 11.000′, which is probably the extreme limit at which barley will grow in this region. In recent years a little maize has been grown in Mayūn, Murtazaabād and Ganish.

These various subjects of general interest and activity postulate the existence of a large vocabulary relating to agricultural processes, implements and products; irrigation, fruit culture and the management of live stock and the treatment of their products.

Crafts.

Any people who are in the main self-supporting must have developed, and must command, a number of essential crafts. Here it is only possible to enumerate very briefly the principal crafts practised by the Burusho. They include:

Building: wall-building without mud; house building, stone-and-mud walls and mud-plastering.

Woodwork: supporting pillars, roofing timber, shaped and unshaped, door-frames, doors and windows. Agricultural implements: ploughs and various forms of wooden shovel and pitchfork: wooden bowls and spoons. Wearing and milling apparatus.

Spinning: hair and woollen thread and twisting into yarn and ropes.

Weaving: woollen home-spun for clothing; hair-cloth for bags and mats.

Basketwork of willow twigs: various forms of baskets and creels.

Preparing skins: for bags for grain etc. and for holding water, milk etc.; also thongs, foot-wrappers and boots.

Metal work: a little iron-work.

Sewing: clothes.

Milling: water-mills are used for grinding flour.

Salt-washing: a method of obtaining salt from saline earth by dissolving it out is sometimes practised.

Gold-washing: the river sand is washed to extract gold-dust. This is done for the Tham of Hunza at certain places, by the lower classes only. I do not know that it is practised privately.

Wine-making and distilling: the latter is now prohibited.

Imports.

The Burusho are dependent on the outside world for their supply of metals and in general for all metal manufactures, e.g. plough-

shares, sickles, shovel-blades, axes, adze-heads and cooking-pots. A few aluminium vessels may now be seen in the hands of the peasants. Any iron work done locally is done by the Bericho (sg. Berits; b·eri·co, b·eri·ts), corresponding to the Doms of Gilgit, who provide the musicians and metal-workers of the community and are regarded as at the bottom of the social scale. They are probably, as elsewhere, of foreign (Indian?) origin. Carpentry, formerly also within the sphere of the Bericho, is now generally practised by individual Burusho.

Cotton cloth, now used by practically the whole population of both sexes for shirts and trousers, is imported. Some foreign shoes and sandals may also be seen. All the sugar and most of the salt used are also imported. Both are in demand and the import apparently does not satisfy the public desire, the cost being no doubt the obstacle.

Tailors and washermen form no part of the indigenous social scheme, but nowadays one or two men can be found who have some skill in these crafts acquired abroad.

Arts.

I have seen very little of decoration or ornamentation in any medium, nor any aesthetic production which could be classified under the heading of the plastic arts. Embroidery until very recently was practised only in the harems of the élite. The ordinary women who are free to pursue, in the open and unveiled, their domestic functions and many kinds of agricultural work, are sufficiently occupied to feel little urge to concern themselves with such elegant triflings, but the girls and young women, before and after marriage, embroider caps for themselves with taste and skill.

Occasional specimens of wood-carving are to be seen, chiefly in the derelict masjids.

Of the other arts, dancing is a traditional and living institution, and is still practised on ceremonial occasions by even the highest ranks of society. The accompanying music is, however, supplied by the despised Bericho. Occasionally the notes of a flute in the hands of an amateur is heard and the sitār is known.

Sports.

Sports are represented by Polo for men who own or can borrow horses, and children's games. The women at certain seasons amuse themselves with games of ball and swinging.

Religion.

By religion the Burusho of Hunza are Muhammadans of the Isma'ili or, as they term it, Maulāi sect, to which, however, they were converted from Shia-ism only three generations ago.

With the Maulais, restrictions, formalities and ritual are reduced to a minimum. The masjids of the former Shia days have been abandoned, and have been replaced in recent years by "jamā'atkhānas". There are no mullahs of the ordinary type. Instead there are khalifa (pl. khalifātiŋ; xʌli·fa, xʌli·fa·tiŋ), who are more servants of the public — being called in chiefly to perform the necessary ritual at marriages and funerals — than its spiritual leaders or teachers. Spiritual authority rests with the Pir, in this case 'Abdul Ma'ni, son of the late Shahzada Lais of Chitral. He himself now lives in Zēbāk. He replaced the honoured Pir Jalāli Shah, latterly resident in Ishkoman, who died in February 1931. Two of the latter's daughters were taken in succession as his principal wife by the present Tham of Hunza, which affords an indication of the Pir's status in the country.

Religious observances and prescriptions do not play any very evident part in the life of the Burusho of Hunza, but this does not appear to have any prejudicial effect on their character or conduct. They seem to have firmly planted in them the root of morality and the social and domestic virtues. The Maulais pay tribute to the Agha Khan, the head of the sect. The Burusho of Nagir are Shiahs (pl. Shiāting; ši.a·tiŋ), a more rigorous and formal school, but they do not indulge in a fanatical interpretation of the duties and implications of religion. They mildly contemn the "moghuli" (Maulais) as misguided heretics and imperfect Muslims.

Social and Administrative Organisation.

The life of the people is based on the family, and then on the village or community groups which live within definite geographical

limits and were originally it seems centred round the *khan* (khan, fortress or strong-place). The general security of later times has led to the scattering of habitations seen in more recent settlements like Aliabad. Inside these village-units, such as Baltit, Altit, Ganish, Haidarabad etc. there survive the names of tribal or class divisions. How far these divisions play any significant part in the communal life of the present day is a subject that remains for investigation.

Society is recognised as divided into the following general classes:

1. Thamo: the Royal Family, including:
   i. the Karèli, the royally-born on both sides.
   ii. the Arghundaro, of commoner origin on the female side, but in Hunza children of wedlock.
2. Uyōngko or Akābirtīng — "The Great" — those who enjoy, or have the right to occupy, superior offices in the State, e.g. the posts of Wazīr, Trangfa, Yarpa and Farāj.

   These two classes do not work with their hands.
3. Bār, Bārè Sīs, — These cultivate their land and work with their own hands, but, if personally worthy, are eligible for appointment to posts by the Tham. They are not required to carry loads or perform any inferior class of work.
4. Ṣhadarsho — a large class who get their title ("servants") from their eligibility for employment by the Tham as couriers to convey notice of his movements, carry messages etc. They are exempted from menial labour. This class is increasing by recruitment from the next below.
5. Baldakūyo or Tsilgalasho — these are liable to have to carry loads for the Tham and Uyongko, and to wash for gold. They are exempt from the payment of taxes. The Tsilgalasho are Baldakuyo who are in the employment of Uyongko families and then do not carry loads, but on quitting such employment they revert to the status and obligations of the Baldakuyo. The numbers of this class are declining. Their ascent into the ranks of the Ṣhadarsho is now controlled by the Tham; formerly it was in the hands of the Wazir and Trangfa.

6. Bērīcho — now of two classes:
   i. ēgherasho bērīcho — musicians who provide music on all public occasions.
   ii. ḍak ètasho bērīcho — blacksmiths.[1]

The functions of the Bericho are undergoing a process of extension. They now fetch firewood for the Tham and thorns for protecting enclosures. They also do plastering work for him. A few serve as sweepers. Their status is said to be rising. The Burusho will now eat food prepared by them, which they would not formerly do.

In both Hunza and Nagir the supreme power resides in an autocracy exercised by the Tham, or Mīr. The two royal families derive from a common source and are inter-related by subsequent marriages. This joint royal family claims to have come from Baltistan and to have been established in Hunza and Nagir for the last six hundred years.

Each village group is an administrative unit and the Tham is represented in it by one to three Uyōngko (Uyūmko) or Trangfāting (sg s uyūm = *great*, trangfa). Under their direction these officials have Cherbuting (sg. cherbu, čərbu) who transmit orders to the public. Where the Tham owns land he has a steward, or personal representative, called a Yarpa, who again has subordinates under him to supervise the division of the water-supply.

For the settlement of cases and disputes of all kinds there is in Hunza a long progressive series of "courts", if one may use the term. First the case is dealt with by the heads of the two houses and the two families in conclave. Failing settlement it is referred to the Headman of the community (girūmè uyūm; giramɛ uyu·m). Thirdly: again failing settlement, it is referred to the Headmen of the Four Clans (wālto girāmichīngè uyōngko; wa·lto gira·mičiŋɛ uyo·ŋko) who proceed to the "gate" of the *khan* and adjudicate on it.

[1] The following are the phonetic renderings of the Burushaski words in the above paragraphs: 1. Thamo; karɛ·li; ary·ndəro; 2. nyo·ŋko *or* uyu·mko; aka·birtiŋ; wazi·r; traŋfa; yərpa; faraj; 3. barɛ sis; 4. ṣadəršo; 5. baldaku·yo; tsilgalašo; 6. beričo; eγərašo; ḍak ɛtašo.

Fourthly: even after this an aggrieved party may carry his suit to the gate of Baltit Fort, where it is heard by the four Headmen of Baltit and the Kudako. Fifthly: if he has still failed to obtain satisfaction he can next submit his case to the Wazir. Sixthly: If the Wazir fails, where so may before him have failed, the case then goes to the final court — the Tham's Audience Assembly (Thamo maraka). Here it is heard and adjudicated on for the last time by the Tham, the Wazir, and the elders and officials of every *khan* in council, and a final irrevocable order is passed. It is said that in recent years the Tham has dispensed with the presence of the elders and officials and gives judgement himself. But I imagine this would not apply in a case of major gravity. All "courts" are held in public.

It is thus the policy in Hunza that only matters of serious importance should be referred to the Ruler and that he should be regarded as a final court of appeal. In this way his prestige and authority are not impaired by the constant decision of minor disputatious or factious matters.

Character.

Of the character of the Burusho something has already been said in *obiter dicta* above. It may be summarily stated that the Hunzukuts are a cheerful, frank and straightforward people; intelligent, keen, and active, with a sense of fun and humour and a commendable spirit of tolerance. They are pleasant people to meet and work with. Among themselves they appear to be good-natured and forbearing, associating together in relaxation, and cooperating happily and amicably in work. They are fond of their children, but do not spoil them, and are considerate to the old or ailing.

For more than a month, while partially laid up, I have sat in the Rest House at Aliabad and from the verandah and through the windows seen the life of the place drift past me or concentrate in activity in the fields immediately in front. There is here no

garden, no fence, to interpose a barrier. The much-frequented public way, following the further edge of an irrigation channel, passes within a dozen yards and beyond lie the fields of lucerne, wheat, buckwheat and pot-herbs descending gently in graded terraces. But the ground is beaten hard right up to the verandah edge, and the more adventurous take full advantage of the right of way when they can do so without intrusiveness. So here, almost within touch, pass men, women and children on their various occasions, none without a salute or a smile, or at least a shy recognition. Fifty yards off toil a joint family party, successively reaping, stacking, threshing and winnowing the wheat and pulse crops and carrying off the spoils.

Work goes on harmoniously, without idleness and without hurry. Normally division of labour obtains, men and women have their recognised roles, but the division seems regulated purely by physical capacity and convenience. There is nothing rigid about it and in general each sex will freely assume the work of the other if occasion makes it desirable. In this household there are only two men, one able-bodied on whom the heaviest work falls, and one aged who can only do light jobs and rest, intermittently. There are several women and they relieve each other at the heavier work seemingly from a sense of what is the game and without prompting. There is no apparent shirking, there is no quarrelling, disputing or shouting. I have not seen or heard a quarrel yet, except a minor affair between two small boys. Voices are only raised when information has to be conveyed to a distance.

Children roam about in groups of boys and girls, or mixed family parties, playing along the water-channel, chattering and laughing or retrieving the last over-looked apricots by knocking them down with stones or climbing and shaking the trees. Everyone shares without question in the harvest. Children help spasmodically in the elders' tasks; it is not obligatory. There are always one or two rounding up an errant and centrifugal flock of lambs and kids, or a single agile and enterprising cow.

And so life seems to go on. Even water rights, the turning of the carefully-husbanded water on to the land of the various groups in succession, appear to be exercised, according to the recognised scheme, by those concerned without recrimination. But at this season water is plentiful.

Women here hold a position of freedom and respect rare in the East. Young and old they move freely about, unveiled and unaccompanied. They mingle and converse quite naturally and unselfconsciously with men. No doubt everyone knows everyone else and many are related. Young marriageable girls are as free and open-faced as the married women.

To the stranger within their gates, at any rate to the Sāhib and Mīm sāhiba, strayed out of another world, everyone is courteous and cordial, welcoming approach and questions, anxious to give information, amused at and appreciative of stumbling efforts to speak their difficult language, inviting them to their work parties in their fields or their leisure gatherings in their shady gardens. Always there is perfectly natural, self-respecting courtesy and good feeling, never that servility, false familiarity, self-assertiveness or aggressiveness characteristic of those who suffer from a sense of real or imagined inferiority.

This may appear a roseate, even idyllic picture, and no doubt there must be darker patches on the reverse side of it, but these do not appear to dim the general effect.

So much for the Hunzukuts Burusho. Of their Nagir neighbours I can say little. In casual contacts I have found them also friendly and courteous. The general impression is that they are not so actively cheerful as the Hunzukuts.

We may now turn our attention to the speakers of Werchikwār (Wərčikwa·r). That language is spoken only in the Wershigūm valley, known as the Yasīn district from the name of the village adjoining the administrative headquarters. The linguistic situation existing in Yasīn is shown in the following table:

District	Number speaking			Total Population 1931 Census
	Werchikwār	Khowār	Shinā	
Yasīn . . .	7,518	230 (2,506)	336	8,084
Total . . .	7,518	230	336	8,084

The whole population of Yasīn, with the exception of small intrusive colonies of Shina and Khowar speakers, talk Werchikwar as their mother tongue. About one-third of these, it is estimated, have a greater or less command of Khowar, which has been the speech of their rulers for some generations. This bilingual minority is represented in the above table by the entry (2506).

The general physical circumstances of the Wershik are not widely dissimilar from those of the Burusho, but their country is much opener and easier in the habitable tracts, and it is much more accessible from the Gilgit valley than are Hunza and Nagir. On the cultural side it is believed that they share some of the festivals and customs of the Burusho, but their political history has been very different. So far as tradition goes back they have been under the domination of outsiders. For a number of generations they have now been continuously ruled by members of the Khushwaqt or Katōr families of Chitral.

The effects of this domination have been somewhat modified in later times by British control, but the traditions of the Wershik have not been those of a free and independent people able to treat with, ignore, or defy the outer world, but of a subject people existing to serve the interests of their foreign rulers. It is therefore not surprising, whatever their origin may be, if we fail to find among them the same spirit of self-respecting independence, frankness and cheerfulness that we have seen to characterise the Burusho of Hunza. In fact they are reputed to be shifty and untruthful. I am not personally in a position to support or rebut this charge, but in ordinary circumstances I have found them pleasant enough people to meet.

THE LANGUAGE.

Having described in some measure the country where Burushaski is spoken and the people who speak it, I must now give some account of the language itself and of the influences to which it has, at least in recent times, been subjected.

Burushaski[1] has no literature and is in fact an unwritten language. Obliging friends may have occasionally written Burushaski letters or texts in the Arabic script to humour enquiring foreigners such as Leitner or myself, but no convention has ever been arrived at to represent the sounds which are unknown to Arabic, Persian or Hindustani. When literate Burusho, and there are not many of them, have occasion to write, they do so in Persian for choice, or in Hindustani. The student of Burushaski has thus no manuscripts, ancient or modern, to turn to for enlightenment. He must go direct to the linguistic fountain-head — the *sujet parlant*. As far as contemporaneous speech is concerned, this is rather a blessing than a loss, but a series of manuscripts or inscriptions going back through some hundreds of years would throw an invaluable light on the development of the language. Lacking them, we cannot divine its history, nor make any guess as to its primitive forms. Only the co-existence of Werchikwar enables us sometimes to deduce that a word or form which occurs in the one as an isolated or rare phenomenon is a survival of what was once perhaps common property, or else normal in some dialect.

[1] I have never succeeded in getting anyone to recognise the word "Boorishki", the term applied to the language by Biddulph, and apparently accepted by Leitner, v. H. and N. Hdbk. p. 195 l. 2. Leitner also talks of the "Boorishki race". One cannot imagine that Biddulph and Leitner invented the term, so it would appear that it has gone out of use since their day. Possibly it may still flourish somewhere in Nagir. Leitner uses the term "Khajuna". This name is applied to Burushaski by outsiders and non-Burusho, as Leitner himself seems to admit (loc. cit.). I have heard the word used in Chalt, in opposition to Shina, by a man who was probably himself normally a Shina-speaker.

Burushaski and Werchikwar[1] are to be regarded as two dialects of one language of which no other dialects exist. The Burushaski of Hunza and Nagir, it is true, differ to some extent: there are differences in vocabulary and minor variations in morphology, but, as far as I am in a position to judge, these are not sufficient to constitute them separate dialects. Local variations occur inside Hunza itself: thus the people of Aliabad say "etoi" *he has done*, where the Baltitkuts say "etai". At present we do not know the full range of difference between Hunza and Nagir Burushaski, nor the number and extent of local variants in either, nor how far these are strictly local or possibly connote some difference of social status.

Burushaski and Werchikwar have both been subjected to outside influences, some of which must be of ancient standing, some of recent origin, but a glance at the vocabularies will impress one with how little either has borrowed from other languages and how large an original stock of words each has preserved. This can best be judged from the pronouns and from the number and variety of verbal conceptions which are expressed by undoubtedly native verbs. Both dialects seem to have presented a very resistant front to foreign intrusion. Even in these latter days, though many Arabic and Persian words are generally known, and though their use is convenient and probably increasing, they are not essential to the expression of ordinary ideas and many are not used by the common people.

Of contiguous languages Burushaski has been in direct contact with Shina and with Wakhi. The Qirgiz used to raid into the north of Hunza and have left behind them at least two place names: Mintaka and Aqtash (v. Text No. XXXI), but that seems to be all. Some contact with Baltistan, doubtless a very slight one, is to be

[1] "Werchikwar" appears to be analysable into: Werch- or Wersh- + ik + wār, of which Werch- is to be equated with the Wersh- of Wershigum; -ik- with the Khowar -ik added to place names to denote the people of a place (e. g. Laspūr, Laspṛik); -wār with Khowar -wār denoting "language", as in the word itself Khowar, "the language of the Kho". The probable connection of Wersh- and Burushaski is obvious.

presumed from the possession of a pattern of door known as "Baloski hing" (bʌlo·ski hiŋ), and a method of thorn-fencing "Baloski chash" (bʌlo·ski čaš). See also Text No. XXVIII. I have even been told that the Burusho believe that they acquired the whole of their material culture from Baltistan. Though there is no territorial contact with Khowar, an occasional surprising common property in words suggests questions.

The Qirgiz and Balti languages may at once be dismissed as sources of any perceptible influence on Burushaski, and, with infinitely greater opportunity, Wakhi seems to have been equally impotent to make any general impression on it. There remains Shina. Clearly there are borrowings from Shina to be found in the Burushaski vocabulary. Words with characteristic Shina prefixes and endings may be assumed to be Shina e. g. Bu. ʌ-baš, ʌ-čɛ·mo, su-čɛ·mo, ʌ-šato; adjectives ending in -a·ṭo, čʌmər-a·ṭo, ɣʌliš-a·ṭo; abstract nouns ending in -a·r, -i.a·r, and -e·i such as: dʌmija·r, šuri.a·r, šugule·i etc. In Shina -o is a very common ending in nouns and the masculine singular of adjectives. Where such words are shared the probability lies that in Burushaski they are borrowings from Shina. Examples are: ba·go, bʌsko·čo, biḍi·ro. Sometimes the final -o is lacking in the Burushaski form. In such cases is the -o of Shina possibly an addition to a Burushaski word? Such are:

Bu.	ɣulk	Shn.	gulko	*covered water-tank*
	ɣuṭu·m		guṭu·mo	*deep*
	hisk		hɛ·sko	*loom*
	hukʌr		hukʌ·ro	*tamarisk*

Of undistinguished shared words it is for the Philologist to say whether they are of Indo-Aryan stock, and so presumably a contribution from Shina, or not. The same applies to similarities of a more radical character found in the sharing of syntactical practices and idiomatic usages, which seem to postulate direct translation from one language into the other. It is a fair hypothesis that such a process came into action at some time when the two languages were in intimate association, probably by intermarriage, after the

Shina-speaking stock had forced its way in among, or acquired domination over, an originally Burushaski-speaking population. To enumerate such similarities would require a treatise in itself, and in the Grammar I have purposely abstained from drawing comparisons with Shina, which would have taken up space and obscured the immediate issues. I may here just draw attention to a few points. V. § 43. There is much parallelism in the use of the Bu. suffix -ʌn and the Sh.- -ɛk, -k (ɛk = one), e. g. Sh. ɛk mʌnu·ju'k *a man*; ʌ·pu'k *a little*; with pronouns: ko·uk *what person?*, jɛk-ɛ̀k *something*, kʌča·k-ɛk *a certain number of*, cp. Bu. be·rum-ʌn; with numerals: dai bai-ɛk *ten or a dozen*, bi·ɛk *a score*. It is also used with the plural and so corresponds to the Bu. -ik. Employed with passive participles and verbal bases it replaces the indefinite by a definite sense. Thus: rai.ituk *the thing said* cp. Bu. ɛnumʌn; ā·thi hʌnuk *the bones there are*, cp. Bu. mʌltʌš biluman *the ghee there was*.

Points of similarity can also be found in the use of the case suffixes: Sh. jɛk čokɪj *how?*, cp. Bu. bɛlʌṭɛ. Sh. -ɪj = ʌjɛ is semantically parallel to Bu. -ʌṭɛ. Sh. abl. -jo, parallel to Bu. -tsum used with meaning *after* (of time). Among the pronouns, Sh. ɛk is parallel with Bu. hin hin *one another* v. § 134. Sh. baiyɛ *both* and bu·to pl. bu·tɛ *all* generally follow the noun: jʌk bu·tɛ *all the people*, cp. Bu. *-ʌltʌlik and *-yo·n, §§ 177—178.

There is a parallelism between the use of the Sh. gʌ, gɛ and the Bu. kɛ with the indefinite pronouns when the verb is in the negative e. g. Sh. jɛga nɪš, Bu. bɛsʌn kɛ api *it is nothing*, v. §§ 148—154 and 333.

The higher numeral system of both languages is based on the score (20). In compound verbal expressions there is much parallelism in the use of the verbs *to come*, Sh. waɪ.o·ɪki Bu. ju·yʌs; *to bring*, Sh. wʌlo·ɪki and ʌṭo·ɪki, Bu. d*-tsʌs, dusu·yʌs, su·yʌs, v. §§ 261 ff. and 266, also in some other cases. These seem to be translations.

Parallelism of use can also be noted in some independent verbs e.g. Sh. nɪkhaɪ.o·ɪki, Bu. du·sʌs, *to come out, go out, get out, escape;*

to cross (*a river*; etc.) *to climb up; to win* (*in a game*). Both languages use the interrogative suffix -a with verbs, and use it in the same way, v. § 340.

There seems to be some parallelism in the verb *to be able*, Sh. boˑɪki, which also means *to be, become*, and the Bu. *-ɪmanɪs which is presumably related to manaˑs, v. § 298.6. Cp. also Kho. bik.

The Conditional particles Sh. tsɪk and Bu. tsɛ, Wer. tsɪk are largely similarly employed.

The extensive use of the past participle active and its employment as a connective are common to both languages. Sh. thɛ *having said*, is used to close a quotation, exactly as the Bu. nusɛn, v. § 367. Cp. Kho. rɛ.

Sh. thoˑɪki and Bu. ɛtɪs, both meaning primarily *to do*, are always used for *to speak* (*a language*), and the Sh. constantly, and the Bu. sometimes, for *to say*.

There are correspondences in the use of the Sh. passive and static participles and the Bu. static participle, cp. raiˑituk mentioned above, also the active use in Sh. raiˑito manuˑjo *a man who has read* i.e. *a literate man*, v. § 378. b. With §§ 379. b. and 460 cp. Sh. wɪto o manuˑjo *the man who has come*.

The infinitive is used in Shina as in Burushaski with case suffixes, v. § 392. I. Curiously, the Sh. locative form in -ər in used in the same way as the Bu. dative form in -ər, as described in § 395 d. Is this a case of adoption? The same phenomenon is seen in the Sh. ačaˑkər and the Bu. terumɪnər. both expressing in the same way, *at this point, thereupon, then*, v. § 409.1.

As in Bu. so in Sh. the same or approximately the same form functions as infinitive, inflectable verbal noun, noun-agent and gerundive(?): thoˑɪki, thoˑk, *to do, doing* (noun); thoˑɪkejo fɪtu *after doing* (*it*); thoˑɪkɛt čak *ready to do it;* mɪs doˑɪki ɪsulusus *I was a giver, prepared to give;* mɪs thoˑkunus, tus thoˑkuno, roˑs thoˑkun *I am to, have to, must do, thou must do, he must do;* ɪšpɛ kuˑrɛ kərpa thoˑkun *it is necessary to cut the horse's hoofs, its hoofs are to be cut;* ɪšpič tilɛn doˑkun (doˑɪki) *the saddle is to be put on the horse.*

In Sh. mɪṭ lɛl hɪn-ɪj *on its being known to me* i.e. *with my knowledge*, mɪt lɛl nuš-ɪj *without my knowledge*, the use of the suffix -ɪj (ɪjɛ = *on*) may be compared with that of Bu. -ɪṭɛ in ayetum-ɪṭɛ etc. in § 384, and the combination of the base hɪn with a case suffix, with oˑni-tsum and ɪsqɪn-ɪṭɛ in § 407. b. and c.

The use of the past participle active of the verb *to do* in Bu. to form adverbial expressions is to be compared with the similar Sh. use of the ppc. of thoˑɪki viz. *thɛ*, e.g. loˑko thɛ *quickly*. mišto thɛ *well*, Bu. yər nɛ *forwards*, šu.a nɛ *well*, v. § 416. But while the Sh. adverbs so formed are usually Adverbs of Manner, those of Burushaski are mainly Adverbs of Place.

There is also much parallelism in the use of the Sh. particle *to* and the Bu. particle *kɛ* with temporal clauses and the protases of conditional sentences.

Some correspondences of a like nature can also be traced in Khowar.

Burushaski has also been in contact with certain foreign languages which geographically do not lie adjacent to it. These are Panjabi and Dogri, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic. One main point of contact has been provided by the Gilgit bazar, the marketing centre of Hunza and Nagir, where the shops are manned by a mixed crew of Panjabis, Kashmiris and local people, and are frequented by the Dogras of the garrison of Kashmir State Troops and the servants of local officials. Local people are also employed by various public departments, such as the Public Works Department, the Posts and Telegraphs and the Indian Army Service Corps, whose officials talk Hindustani. There are always a considerable number of Burusho resident in the Gilgit Wazārat, and small numbers are to be found in Srinagar and down country, even in Bombay.

Contact again is provided by the corps of Gilgit Scouts. Hunza and Nagir both provide two companies of 80 men each, who come up to Gilgit for training for a month (recently increased to two months) each year. Here they are trained by one or two British Officers, whose medium of communication is Hindustani, and they must thus pick up a certain limited Hindustani vocabulary.

A third point of contact is provided by the Schools attended by a very limited number of boys chiefly of the upper classes. Elementary instruction in reading and writing Hindustani in the Arabic script is obtainable in Baltit and Nagir. A small number of boys proceed to the Anglo-Vernacular Middle School in Gilgit, where they learn Urdu and Persian, and can make a beginning on English up to the VIIIth. Standard. A few of the sons of the *élite* now go for two or three years to the State College in Srinagar, where they can carry their studies to the point of passing the B. A. examination in English. But as yet there are no Burusho B. A.'s.

From all these encounters people return to their homes, temporarily or for good, bringing with them some degree of linguistic acquirement, and an enlarged, not necessarily improved, view of life. A few in recent times have brought with them some foreign accomplishment, tailoring, clothes-washing or, petty trading and shopkeeping.

One great source of extraneous culture remains to be mentioned: the Islamic Tradition, which carries with it many kinds of lore and knowledge not directly religious. What exactly it connotes in any given case would be a complicated subject of research, on which I have made no attempt to embark, but it is probable that what Ismailism has brought to Hunza does not exactly tally with what Shiahism has brought to Nagir. What comes in the way of doctrine, history, legend and language (Arabic terms) directly through mullahs and religious teachers, where they exist, and what is transmitted by the ordinary intercourse of Muslims of all nationalities and in all places? It is by the latter route presumably that folk tales such as Texts I, II and III have found their way into Hunza and Nagir. I think it may also be assumed that the bulk of Arabic words current in Burushaski have been acquired through the medium of Persian and Hindustani, or have filtered through Shina.

The people of Yasin have had less numerous external contacts than those of Hunza and Nagir. They have also, I think, sent

fewer youths to be educated. On the other hand they have for many years been in very close contact with one foreign language, Khowar, which has been brought to their doors, and for many into their daily lives This is reflected to some extent in the Werchikwar vocabulary as far as it is known, but I do not know enough to say anything definite about morphological and structural analogies between the two languages.

Earlier Work on Burushaski and Werchikwar by Europeans.

The only original work of importance done in the past on Burushaski is that published by Col. J. Biddulph in 1880 (revised 1884) and by Dr. G. W. Leitner in 1889. In the Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII their results are revised and summarised and a version of the parable of the Prodigal Son is added. Biddulph's work is sound as far as it goes, but it is only a brief sketch. There are 22 8vo. pages of Grammar, 4 pages of sentences and texts and 20 pages of Burushaski-English Vocabulary. He deals with the Nagir dialect which he calls "Boorishki" (v. footnote p. XVIII). Leitner in his "Hunza and Nagir Handbook", 1889, also principally describes the Nagir dialect. He collected a considerable vocabulary, extensive paradigms and a large mass of miscellaneous information, all of which he presents unfortunately in an ill-digested and unsystematic manner. His translations are often so loose as to suggest that he did not fully understand his texts, and naturally errors are not lacking.[1]

In both Biddulph's and Leitner's Vocabularies a considerable number of Shina words are to be found. This is probably characteristic af Nagir Burushaski, which has always been more exposed to infection by Shina than the Hunza speech.[2]

[1] It would be unwise to express a final judgment on Leitner's work without checking it through in detail with the assistance of Burushaski speakers, which I have not done.

[2] Cp. also the Bibliography in LSI, Vol. VIII, 1, p. 551. — Manuscript vocabularies compiled by B. L. Grombchevskiy and M. S. Andreev are in the possession of the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy.

In the past Werchikwar has received even less attention than Burushaski. The Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII contains a brief notice of it and a version of the parable of the Prodigal Son furnished by an Indian Official, Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim. Recently, however, I. I. Zarubin has furnished in Russian a valuable description of the language (v. § 500 below), to which he appends a vocabulary and a detailed criticism of the L. S. I. "Prodigal Son", which appears just, as far as I have examined it.

The Present Work.

The world has recently been presented with works on little-known Indian languages which represent the knowledge and labour of half a life-time. Such are Hoffmann's "Encyclopaedia Mundarica" and Bodding's Santali Dictionary. The present work makes no pretence to such a foundation. It represents merely an endeavour to squeeze the contents out of such material as I was able to collect hurriedly in a short time, and to arrange and present it in a systematic manner, so that it may be conveniently available to the student.

In September 1920 I took over charge as Political Agent, Gilgit, and remained there till September 1924. During the greater part of the first three years I devoted my spare time to the Shina and Khowar languages and it was only in May 1923 that I added to these Burushaski. From then until July 1924 it somewhat interruptedly received a portion of my attention. In 1921 my wife had made a start on Burushaski, working for two or three weeks with Gushpūr Maḥbūb 'Ali Khān, son of the Mir of Nagir, a bright and intelligent youth. I now turned to her work and gained some idea from it of the principal features of the language, the use of pronominal prefixes, the four "genders" and the main lines of inflexion. Otherwise I started from zero, as I did not wish at this point possibly to prejudice my openness of mind by having recourse to Biddulph and Leitner. In the event I never consulted them at all while I was in Gilgit.

My mode of procedure was as follows, and in all the circumstances it seems to have justified itself. For a few weeks I worked with Nazer of Aliabad, head of my establishment of domestic servants, eliciting from him the principal inflectional forms of the language as well as the chief pronominal forms and the numerals. Nazer, though illiterate, was a man with excellent brains and the instincts of a teacher and elucidator, and Hindustani provided a medium of intercourse. After this I secured the services of Imām Yār Bèg, brother of the Wazir of Hunza and a Jemadar in the Gilgit Scouts, and began to take down texts to his dictation. Each day I wrote down as much as I had time to, making every effort to record the sounds phonetically as far as I was able to appreciate them, and to make sure of the division of the words. I did not make a point of fully following and understanding what I wrote. The same day, or the next working-day, I read out to him what I had written, corrected it as far as I could from every point of view and strove to arrive at the exact meaning of every word and sentence. I made notes of the translation and obtained the principal parts of verbs, the plural forms of nouns and so on, and recorded other words and phrases that were suggested by those of the text.

All this was very hurriedly done, but the results have in general proved satisfactory and the texts themselves seem to be readily intelligible to Burushaski-speakers when read aloud to them. They will often complete a sentence and continue the narrative, where it is short, in much the same words as the original, for though there are no professional story-tellers in Hunza, many of the local stories or accounts of customs appear to be told habitually in a customary, if not stereotyped form.

Imam Yar Beg was a man of first-rate intelligence, great energy and a forceful personality. His own tastes ran naturally to sport and the practical. He was an enthusiastic and skilled polo player and I fear linguistic enquiries must sometimes have bored him, but he stayed the course until at length he unfortunately fell ill a month or two before I left the country. In that month or two,

of course, everything was going to have been checked and corrected and much additional information was going to have been obtained — an impossible programme!

Simultaneously with the writing of the texts I ran through an extensive list of common English words and obtained as far as possible their Burushaski equivalents by direct enquiry. This method helps to fill up unexpected hiatuses which will always be found in the vocabulary obtained from any moderate body of texts and casual information. It works well enough with nouns that are the names of material objects and with the simpler direct verbal conceptions. As a sole method, with an imperfectly-known common language as medium of communication, it would be quite unsatisfactory.

Also, in desperation, to make the most of the time available, I adopted a still less satisfactory expedient. I commissioned Imam Yar Beg's elder brother, 'Ināyatullah Bèg, to write out for me a list of all the Burushaski words and proverbs he could think of with explanations in Hindustani. He had some months in which to do this. I gave him for the purpose a large number of slips, each to be used for a single word, of which the vital inflected forms were also to be given. Unfortunately I was not able to convey my instructions by word of mouth and IUB devoted himself to a paper-economy campaign, writing as many words in pencil in a small hand on each slip as he could cram on to it. The result was almost illegible. I handed these slips over to Shāhzāda Yūsuf of Yasin to re-write. He had an adequate knowledge of Burushaski and non-literate Burusho at hand to consult. With great industry he rewrote all the words on separate slips, adding in some cases Roman transliterations of his own. This did not suffice, however, to distinguish with any certainty a from ā, i from e and u from o, nor to exclude ambiguity in the case of some other sounds.

All this material, which contained much that was new to me, I was unable to examine till years later when in England and unable to obtain help. Another very difficult manuscript with which I

had to struggle unaided was that of text No. 47 which had been supplied to me in two not identical versions, Burushaski and Urdu, by Gushpūr Muhammad Ghani Khān, before I had begun to work at the language.[1]

In collecting linguistic material there is a choice of two attitudes one may adopt. The first is to try and clear up and master every difficulty as it occurs and ideally to make one's effective knowledge keep pace with the information that one writes down; the other is not to linger over difficulties which prove at all intractable, not to memorise and not to endeavour to learn to speak as one goes along, but to write down in the way of Texts etc. as much as possible in the time available, only making notes of the meaning and of usages as far as that is possible without undue delay.

The former method is of course the ideal one, but I doubt whether it is the wiser when time is limited. One may spend hours debating over an obscure phrase or construction without arriving at a full comprehension of it, while if the time is spent instead in recording more texts, there is a considerable chance that the word or phrase will turn up again in contexts which make its meaning or force plain. At least this has been my frequent experience. As regards trying to talk and memorising one's material as one goes along, where the language is as difficult as Burushaski, that is largely a question of the quickness and acquisitive power of the recorder. With no spare time or energy at my command such ambitions lay beyond my hopes.

I therefore resigned myself to the second method and devoted myself to collecting as much material as I could in the time — and the "time", it must be remembered, was what remained to me when my official work was done, and had to be divided between the three languages I was working at concurrently, Shina and Khowar as well as Burushaski. Then on retiring and returning to

[1] There is an error in the statement made in l. 3 of the note on p. 376 of the Texts: "1923" should be altered to "1922", or else the words "more than a year" should be cut out. I am not sure which.

England I settled down first to translating the texts and working out the vocabulary, and then to an intensive comparative study of every word and every grammatical form occurring in my material. On this basis I then prepared and annotated the Texts and drew up the Grammar and Vocabulary as they now stand. This took in all four and a half years, from January 1926 to June 1930.

I have dwelt at some length on my methods of work, because without such knowledge it is impossible for the reader to form any just estimate of the degree of authority to which the book can lay claim. For the same reason I have made a free use of question marks in the Vocabulary and elsewhere to indicate points in regard to which my information is uncertain. I hope I have stated nothing as a fact except on reasonably adequate grounds.

The whole edifice stands essentially on the foundation of Jemadar Imam Yar Beg's Burushaski, a foundation the general reliability of which I think no one in Hunza would dream of questioning. But this statement requires serious qualification: it is IYB's Burushaski as affected by the mishearings and misunderstandings of the recorder. That there are such I have not the slightest doubt. I am only surprised that the substance of the Texts has worked out so homogeneous and, as I have now some ground for believing, so correct.

A special word of warning should be given in regard to the Phonetics. I am myself no phonetician and made no constant systematic attempt to distinguish by all means at my command between different sounds which sooner or later I knew to exist, but could not myself certainly distinguish This applies specially to the two parallel series of cerebrals and non-cerebrals, aspirates and non-aspirates. Many cerebrals and aspirates may have escaped undetected; I can only say that where a sound is marked as cerebral or aspirate, it may safely be assumed to be such.

My general aim in the preparation of this work is now sufficiently evident; it is simply to give a perfectly objective view of what I was able to ascertain about the language. I have created a hypothesis

only where it seemed necessary to attain brevity and clarity in the statement of facts. Such is my theory of the initial *-a- of many nouns and verbal bases, and the combination of it with the pronominal prefixes. Otherwise I have avoided speculation in realms outside my competence. I have raised no questions of the relationship between Burushaski and other languages and I have also intentionally omitted to point out many parallels in grammatical usage and idiom between Burushaski and the adjacent, though non-related, languages Shina and Khowar. In the Vocabulary on the other hand I have noted when the same word, or obviously a form of the same word, is in use in those languages. I have done this because I believe that many of these Shina and Khowar words have not before been recorded, and even when they have been, will not always be readily accessible to the reader.

As I have eschewed questions of relationship, so for still better reasons I have abstained from any attempt to propound linguistic theories of a more general nature. With less certain virtue I have also failed to supply any new grammatical terminology. Another terminology than that of my boyhood's reminiscences of Latin Grammar is certainly needed to describe the phenomena of Burushaski. I do not know that such exists, and I have thought it wise to leave this thorny matter to hardened experts and not to complicate the issues by amateur attempts which would only prove a stone of offence.

The principal work that remains to be done for Burushaski as I see it is:

1. To make a scientific determination of the phonetic system.
2. To clear up existing grammatical problems and to discover more.
3. To ascertain the relative frequency of various syntactical usages. Some which in my material occur rarely are probably in fact common enough.
4. To make a parallel study of Nagiri Burushaski and local variations in phonetics and vocabulary.

5. To complete the vocabulary and to collect obsolete and obsolescent words. There are a multitude of general terms to be collected, while there is undoubtedly an immense field of "technical" terms, in the widest sense, to be covered.

In this last task the most fruitful line of approach will be by the way of anthropological interests and anthropological methods. Burushaski also appears to have a great facility in the metaphorical use of specific words, especially verbs. These uses can only be educed with time, patience and experience.

To these various subjects for enquiry, except the first, I now hope to be able to make some contribution.

Self-determination and luck have brought me again, after ten years, to the land of the Burusho, in the midst of whom, at Aliabad in Hunza EOL and I are now living. This luck I owe "first", as they would say here "to the grace of God", and then to the "kindness" of the Trustees of the Leverhulme Research Fellowship Fund, who have granted me substantial financial assistance. It is a short time spent again with Burushaski-speakers that has enabled me to say above that the Texts and Grammar appear to be generally sound beyond my dreams. This does not at all mean that they are impeccable.

How much can now be done will again be governed by the time factor — the harvest is ripe, but the labourers are few.

But this is anticipating.

Meanwhile in what concerns the present work there remains to me the pleasure of paying many debts of very genuine gratitude. To the Tham of Hunza, Sir Muhammad Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E., I have paid my tribute in the Dedication. To him I owe much personal kindness and hospitality and also the services of IYB over a long period. The Burushaski of the Dedication, I may say, has been constrained with much expert advice to an unprecedented use.

Next I have to thank my active collaborators, to whom ultimately everything is due, Jemadar Imam Yar Beg, Inayat Ullah Beg.

Shahzada Yusuf and Nazar. Further I would very specially thank my friend, Khan Sahib Muhammad Masih Pāl, in my time and still, Indian Assistant to the Political Agent, Gilgit, for many and various services extending over a number of years.

To Professor Georg Morgenstierne's inspiration and good offices this work owes its appearance in print, for he introduced and sponsored it to the Directors of the Norwegian Instituttet For Sammenlignende Kulturforskning who have honoured me by approving it and publishing it at the expense and under the aegis of the Institute. I should like here to express my sincere and cordial thanks to the Institute and its Directors. With great unselfishness Professor Morgenstierne has also spent no little valuable time and much patience on matters connected with proofs and printing. He promises to crown his kindness by contributing a Preface.

Finally my thanks are due, as always, to my Wife for steadfast encouragement, judicious but unvexatious criticism, and unstinted typing, each of which contributions is in its way equally essential to my continued functioning.

D. L. R. L.

Aliabad, Hunza,
1st September 1954.

PHONOLOGY.

§ 1.

Of the sounds of Burushaski I am not able to give a precise scientific account. All I can do is to enumerate the sounds that I was myself able to distinguish, and supplement this with what I could ascertain of the views and feelings of the speakers of the language.

A point which must be kept in mind is that I am dealing with the language only as I heard it spoken by a few individuals. As is the case in other languages, there are undoubtedly many variations of sounds and forms peculiar to different localities and to different individuals. What I may, however, claim is that the form of the language which I was able to study is to be regarded as the most approved type of Hunza speech, for it was that practised by Jemadār Imām Yār Bèg, a member of the family of Wazirs which can be ranked in social standing as second only to that of the Mirs. Actually the stock of the former may well be purer Burisho, as it has probably been less diluted by foreign marriages.

There is of course no orthographic practice or tradition, for what it might be worth, from which one can hope to obtain light. Burushaski is not a written language. The only Mss. which exist are probably the few texts and lists of words which I have induced three or four informants to write down tentatively in the Arabic script. In the absence of any convention each has solved in his own way the difficulties which present themselves.

The character ǰ for instance, has been variously used to represent ž, ts, ẏ and j̇ (ž) as opposed to j (ǰ).

Certain sounds remain undiscriminated, and words are commonly written disjointedly as if their several syllables were separate words.

2. I would give the principal sounds of Burushaski as follows:

Vowels.

aˑ	a	(æ)	ʌ	ə		ɛˑ	ɛ	eˑ	e
iˑ	i	ɪ	oˑ	o	(ɔ)	uˑ	u	ʊ	(ü)
ai	(æɪ)				au	(aʊ).			

Consonants.

k	q		ɋ		x	kh	(qh?)
g			g̣		ɣ	ɣ̣	
č			č̣			čh	čḥ
j	(ž)		j̣	(ẓ̌)	y	y̰	
t			ṭ			th	ṭh
d			ḍ				
p		pf			f	ph	
b					w		
s					š	ṣ̌	
z					ž (j)	ẓ̌ (j̣)	
ts						ts.h	
n		ŋ			m		
l		r					
h.							

3. In the following notes it is to be understood that the English and other foreign illustrations of the sounds are only approximate:

aˑ a I.P.A. *aˑ a* English *father*.
æ English *cat*.
ʌ *but*.
ə *water*.

a and ʌ are often difficult to distinguish and in many words seem to be interchangeable.

ə is only a variant of ʌ occuring chiefly before r and finally for a or ɛ.

{a, ʌ} → æ // Pal —

ʌ → ə / — r

{a, ɛ} → ə / — #

ɪ → ɛ / — st

{u, ʊ} → ü / {ɋ, q} —

æ I have only recorded occasionally as a variant of a- or ʌ- in the neighbourhood of a palatal sound.

ɛˑ ɛ English *bed, net*.
eˑ e Scotch *date* (not diphthongal), French *été*.
iˑ i English *sea, machine*.
ɪ *pin*.

ɪ arises from an unstressed i.

Occasionally there appears to be instability in ɛ, e, i, with consequent interchange.

oˑ o English *post* (not diphthongal).
ɔ *on* (an occasional variant for o).
uˑ u *spoon*.

There is frequent approximation or interchange of o and u.

ʊ English *put*. ʊ arises from unstressed u.
ü doubtfully I.P.A. y, French u, occurs occasionally for u or i following g or q.
ai I.P.A. aɪ or æɪ? English *fly*.

I have frequently used ai.i to represent a final combination. It is not to be taken as a full triphthong: a + i + i. It would perhaps have been more correctly expressed by æ.i representing a followed and palatalised by i.

au English *how*. It is often more or less two separate vowels.

My use of au.u is analagous to that of ai.i.

4. Vowel length.

The vowels a, ɛ, e, i, o and u vary in length from long to short, and it is often very difficult to decide how to record the vowel in a particular case.

It is to be noted that my i, o and u are always of the same *quality* as iˑ, oˑ and uˑ and are not to be read as ɪ, ɔ and ʊ.

While tending to be short, ʌ, ɪ and ʊ no doubt vary within limits, but I have made no attempt to distinguish between less short and shorter specimens.

A certain number of very long vowels occur, but they usually turn into diphthongs: aˑᴀ, eˑi, ɛˑi, ɛˑɛ, oˑo, oˑu, uˑu etc. the first component being relatively long.

In my texts I sometimes wrote aᴬ, ɛᴱ, oᴼ etc., but I have not thought it necessary to introduce this typographical complication here.

In general I have not attempted to systematise the spelling of the texts. They stand practically as I took them down and represent a somewhat hurried attempt to record the sounds as I heard them.

There are no doubt inconsistencies and contradictions, but it is to be remembered that not only is one's ear fallible (I speak as an untrained amateur) and variable in its judgement, but also undoubtedly any one narrator's pronunciation varies very considerably, if within limits.

A stop between vowels indicates that there is no perceptible y or w glide between them, but it does not denote a marked hiatus.

5. Consonants.

It is to be noted that there are a certain number of aspirated, and some cerebral or post-alveolar sounds. I exclude them for the moment from consideration:

k and g are much as in *cold* and *goose* and are liable to the same advance in position as in *king* and *geese*.

q is a post-velar sound produced futher back than k.

x and ɣ are the voiceless and voiced spirants corresponding to k and g and liable to the same variation in position.

č and j and y are as in English *church*, *judge* and *young*.

t and d are, I think, post-dental, much as in English.

p, f, b, w are to me indistinguishable from the English sounds

s as in English *sin*.

š as in English *shin*.

z as in English *zeal*.

ž as in English *azure*, *pleasure*.

j and ž appear to be merely variants of each other and not

separate phonemes, and in my experience j is the commoner sound.

ts as in English *flotsam*, *huts*. The t passes into s without being "exploded" and the two sounds cannot be separated, e. g. mu-tsuˑmi, not mut-suˑmi. It stands to t + s as č & j do to t + š & d + ž respectively.

n, m are as in English.

ŋ as in English *singing*.

l as in English *lame*, *alone*. I did not note any peculiar l in Hunza and Nagir, but one exists in Werchikwār.

6. Postalveolars or cerebrals.

a) Of the sounds denoted by č, j, y, t, d, š, ž there are two series: one produced with the tip of the tongue in a relatively advanced, and the other with the tip of the tongue in a relatively retracted, position. The latter I have indicated by a spot as: c̣, j̣, y̰, ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ẓ.

It is a common practice to call such sounds "cerebrals," but I do not think they are cerebrals according to the Sanskritists' definition of the term.[1]

On the whole I think that the post-alveolar nature of the sounds is less marked in Burushaski than it is in Shina. Personally I have experienced a difficulty in certainly distinguishing č, j, ṣ, ẓ from č, j, š, ž, though in some words the difference is readily perceptible.

j and ẓ are, I think, interchangeable.

ḍ I was sometimes able to detect, but sometimes I got it as r (not, I think as ṛ) and sometimes as d In some cases my informants appeared to regard the variants, especially r as legitimate. I obtained from IYB a long list of words with guaranteed ḍ.

[1] The point has been discussed by Sir George Grierson and Dr. Grahame Bailey in regard to Shina where a very similar situation exists (v. JRAS July and Oct. 1924; Jan. and April 1925).

ṭ was to me indistinguishable, at any rate in ordinary speech, from t, and I obtained no list of words containing it.

When writing Burushaski in Arabic characters (only done at my request) my informants appear to have consistently differentiated ḍ and ṭ as ڈ and ٹ

from d t written د and ت.

They did not themselves attempt to distinguish the other postalveolar sounds, except at my special request.

All information obtained from any source in regard to these sounds is embodied in the Vocabulary.

b) ẏ is a sound not shared by Shina, nor have I met it anywhere except in Burushaski.

Its identification as a 'cerebral y' is tentative. From different people I recorded it variously as peculiar kinds of r, l, ž and sometimes as a hiatus or 'hamza.'

With my principal informant IYB I eventually recorded it as an indistinct variety of γ. He always wanted me to take it as 'y,' but that did not seem to me to meet the case. Subsequent reflection and phonetic experiments, however, have now led me to think that it represents an attempt to pronounce y with the tongue in the cerebral position i.e. with the tip turned back to or towards the roof of the mouth, or at least with the tip of the tongue in some measure raised and retracted.

The sound occurs medially and finally, but has not been recorded initially.

Medially when immediately followed by a consonant it disappears or becomes to me imperceptible. Finally it is also often scarcely perceptible.

c) A few instances of a peculiar initial g were recorded: e.g.

ġiyaṣ, ġiyal & ġiyas,

also a doubtful q- and γ- in

qüyɛ and γiṇ, γiṭki.

I am now inclined to the view that these are similar in nature to ẏ and that they are modifications of g, q and γ produced

probably by the proximity of a ẏ. A ẏ has been recorded in most of the examples.

ġiyas is not necessarily an exception as it is probably really ġiyaṣ.

I therefore suggest as a hypothesis that

ẏ, ġ, γ̇, q̇ are variations of y, g, γ, q

produced by endeavouring to form these sounds with the tip of the tongue in some degree turned back towards the roof of the mouth, or at any rate with the front of the tongue raised and retracted from the normal position.

7. Aspirates.

a) The following aspirates were recognised by my informants:

kh, čh, ċh, th (ṭh), ph, ts.h.

Of these I had myself noted in some instances kh, th and ph, and I subsequently obtained lists of some kh and th words.

Most words beginning with any sort of 'p' sound I recorded at one time or another with 'pf' in which the 'p' is usually subordinate to the 'f.'

My pf is probably essentially a variant, sometimes perhaps a personal mishearing, of 'ph.' I also heard it in Shina. In the vernacular Ms. at my command it is represented either by 'f' or by 'ph.'

f as an initial sound I found principally in foreign words.

b) As regards Voiced Aspirates, I did not myself notice any. I was given by IYB a list of examples of 'jh' and one or two of 'jh,' but where any of these words occur in his Ms. they are usually written with unaspirated 'j.' I therefore regard the existence of 'jh' with some scepticism.

I may say here that my efforts to make a formal investigation into the phonetic situation and to obtain lists of words illustrating the sounds, were only commenced shortly before I left Gilgit and remained incomplete.

8. The liability to interchange of certain vowels has already been mentioned.

Certain of the consonants are also liable to variation, irrespective of any special phonetic reason (such as the proximity of other sounds calculated to influence them).

Some of these variations represent something less than dialects, but what may be called recognised fashions of speech. In origin they were doubtless local; whether they still are so I have not the knowledge to say.

The following may be mentioned:

a) x is a somewhat insecure sound. Initially it is sometimes replaced by, or replaces, q, qh(?), kh, & k(?). So:
xa ‖ kha; xat ‖ khat *down*.
xabər ‖ kabər *news*.
xam ‖ kham ‖ qham *cooked vegetables*.
xər ‖ khər ‖ qər *sum of Rs. 6*.
xərts ‖ qərts *clapping hands*; and many others.

b) On the other hand it is sometimes difficult to decide whether an initial sound is x or h. E.g.
xumuˑin ‖ humuˑin *a man without sons*.
Xuru ‖ Huru *Proper Name of man*.
xurgas ‖ hurgas *thick*.
(Ms. material gives h- in 1 and 3, and x- in 2).
I have experienced a similar difficulty in Khowar.

c) In many words the initial sound is pronounced by some ɣ and by others g. E.g.
ɣa ‖ ga *crow*.
ɣandır ‖ gandır *crooked*.
ɣašiˑl ‖ gašiˑl *firewood*.
N. and Nz. favoured g; IYB ɣ.

d) j and ž (as also ǰ and ž̌) seem to be purely alternative sounds, representing a single etymological entity.

e) Medial f is rare, and initial f is found chiefly in foreign words and tends to pass over into pf and sometimes ph.

f) ts occasionally appears as č.
atsi → ači (a + *-tsi)
and -t + tsi seems to yield -či.

g) The combination -sts- occurs medially in some words, and some sybarites tend to drop the second s, a proceeding strongly condemned by puritans. So:
dustsak ‖ dustak; destsalas ‖ destalas; destsayas ‖ destayas.
There is reason to believe, however, that the second s is really intrusive.

h) n, ŋ, m sometimes replace each other. The 2nd. sg. Personal Pronoun seems regularly to be
uˑm in Nagir, uˑn or uˑŋ in Hunza. Nz. affected uˑn, and IYB uˑŋ.
In the texts and elsewhere I occasionally got final -n for -ŋ and vice versa. So:
dayoˑan ‖ dayoˑaŋ. tiˑli.en ‖ tiˑli.eŋ
where ŋ as the typical y pl. ending is probably the more "correct," and on the other hand
jukaŋ. an x noun.
in which -n would be more normal.
I always found it difficult to decide whether the name of the place was Šiŋšaˑl or Šimšaˑl.

i) There does not seem to be any marked tendency to confuse l and r, but under considerable provocation we find:
oˑskilarər for oˑskiralər (*-askir) and N. elerər for elelər(?) (ele.i).

9. a) In a list of words with initial h written by either IYB or ŠY the following are written with the strong Arabic ح·
ha *house* hak *steam*
huk *dog* haraˑy *sheep-pen* etc.
hunam *bride's jewellery*.
In the texts IYB writes ح but هُک and ڈائ (*tribe*).
The use of ح is probably a mere calligraphic affectation.

b) Initial h usually disappears when a vowel is prefixed to it. E.g.

a + hulja –> o'lja
nu + huru't –> nu'rut
*-ʌ + hʌkinʌs –> *-ʌ.ikinʌs
o + hʌr –> owər
but nu + hʌr –> nuh'ɛ'r (probably owing to the position of the accent). See also § 10 II a.

I do not think any Burushaski word with an original intervocalic h has been recorded.

10. I. A very important feature of the language is the change in certain circumstances of initial voiced sounds to their voiceless counterparts when they become medial.[1]

a) This occurs in verbs when they are preceded by:
i. the negative prefix a- v. § 337.
ii. the prefix of the ppa. n + vowel v. § 323 C.
iii. the causative determinant *-ʌs- v. § 236. And
iv. in a few compound nouns of which the first component ends in a voiceless consonant.

In these situations the following changes have been noted:

g → k	j → č
ġ → k	d → t
ɣ → q	b → p

[1] It is worthy of note that in many words which Bu. shares with Sh. or Kho. an initial voiced sound in Bu. is represented by the corresponding unvoiced sound in Sh. and Kho.

Examples are:

bərpir',	dər,	gʌltor',	jʌkər,
baǎa,	dau.o,	gili,	jʌṭor'.
bu'i,	dʌl,	giši,	
bu'r,	gʌkačo,	gu'kur,	
bu'ri,	gʌjəri,	guni,	
buš,	gʌjʌt,	ɣʌǎʌp,	
bʌtu'm,	gʌjəti,	ɣʌšu,	

Per contra may be cited: pʃəri, pʃəriš', pʃut and tiʃs.

For examples of i, ii, and iii and further facts see the paragraphs quoted above. Examples of iv are:

*-ʌskus *mother in law* (*-ʌs + gus?)
*-ʌšpu'r *mane* (*-ʌš + bu'r?).

It is to be noted that the pronoun prefixes and the causative determinant *-ʌ- do *not* devoice a following consonant.

b) Further: w → p.
i. after *-ʌs- in *-wərʌs → *-ʌspərʌs.
ii. after a- privative in wʌrts → apa'rts.

c) The pronoun prefix of the 2nd. sg. gu- changes to -ku- when it is preceded by the negative a-, or when it is employed as an infix in d*- prefix verbs v. § 300.

a + gumʌnum → akumʌnum *thou not being.*

d) The devoicing is carried to the second syllable in:

d*-ʌspʌpʌlʌs ← bʌbʌla,
nukuškin ← gušuginʌs,

but in the latter case it may be due rather to the contact of the š with the g owing to the dropping of the vowel.

e) The change ɣ → q is well attested in several instances and I have generalised it as being probably a universal fact, and otherwise a useful convention.

II. The change of an initial aspirate or fricative to a plosive has been noted in a few cases:

a) h → k
after the negative a- in the verb hɛnʌs: hɛnʌs, *to know.* akɛnʌs, *not to know.*

The same change has apparently operated in *-ʌskir *father-in-law* ← *-ʌs + hir (?)

b) After the ppa. prefix, the unstable x and f change to kh and p in:

*-xərʌs nikhər
*-fʌtərʌs nipʌtər.

11. I do not think there is any native Burushaski word which ends in

ṛ, d, b, j (ž), ǰ (ž),
x, ɣ, f, w, y, z.

In foreign words final g, d, b are frequently unvoiced to k, t, p. E.g.

de·g → de·k ədəb → ədəp
məddəd → məddət kitə·b → kitə·p.

All single sounds have been recorded in the initial position except y.

12. The following **Consonant Combinations** occur initially

br-, dr, pr-, tr-.

Of these the first three are rare:

brək, brən, brəs, drəŋ, prə·k, prik.

There is a somewhat larger representation of tr-

trək, trən, trəŋ, trəp and a few others.

Of ts- (if it is regarded as a consonant combination) there are many examples including such indubitably Burushaski words as:

tsəɣur, tsən, tsil, tsir, tsuɣəs.

Similarly č and č are very common initial sounds, as may be seen from the Vocabulary.

13. A greater variety of **Consonant Combinations** is found in the final position in what are probably native Burushaski words:

-lč *-məlč.
-lk bəlk, dilk, vb. nuhalk.
-lš vb. duwalš.
-lt bə·lt, giyəlt.
-nts hu·nts and nominal plural ending v. §§ 28. 1. & 29. 2.
-nš vb. du·nš.
-nč gənč, gəsənč, vb. sənč.
-rk bəɣərk, tərk, vb. isərk.
-rš, (-rš) hə·rš, he·rš, N. hərš, vb. (u)hi·rš(ən).
bisərš (cp. Shina bisə·č).
-rt mə·rt (cp. Sh. moč), hu·rt (cp. Sh. huč).
-rts dərts, xurts, gə·rts, *-yurts.
-sk pfəsk, hi·sk (cp. Sh. hə·sko), səsk.
-šk gə·šk, ɣəšk, ti·šk.
-ts he·rits, *-dumuts, həɣuts, kuts.
nom. pl. ending -uts v. §§ 29. 14.

14. Medial consonant combinations are more numerous, but there are few consisting of more than two consonants. I have noted only the following:

-lts-, -rts-, -sts-.

The occasional occurrence of -šč- (& -šč-?) may be noted.

15. To judge from the foreign words incorporated in the language metathesis is not active in Burushaski.

16. The practice of repeating a noun with the alteration of the initial sound, giving a sense of vagueness or generality common in colloquial Hindustani and occurring both in Shina & Khowar, is rare, but not unknown in Burushaski:

I have recorded tobəq mobəq *guns, rifles, fire arms*
ka·t ha·t *conditions, injunctions*
ma·l ha·l *property, belongings*
qiɣu pɣu *outcry*
Also the adj. tsilum milum *lesser, minor.*

17. Stress accent.

I am unable to formulate any general rules in regard to the incidence of the Stress Accent. It is not always constant in the same word. Here and there I have marked the main accents in the texts.

A long vowel usually carries the accent, and where I have marked the accent as falling on a short vowel that vowel is probably in fact relatively long.

In transitive or causative verbs beginning with *-ə-, *-əs-, d*-ə-d*-əs- the accent is normally on the pronoun prefix or infix.

The stress accent is marked by the sign ˈ placed before the vowel of the syllable on which it falls.

18. Tones.

I did not perceive tones in the language, but that is no guarantee that they do not exist.

Professor Siddheshwar Varma has recently distinguished a high-falling and a low-rising tone in Burushaski, which are significant in a few cases. (Vide "Burushaski Texts," in "Indian Linguistics," Vol. I, pts. V & VI, pp. 9—10).

NOUNS.

§ 19.

19. Nouns in Burushaski fall into four classes according as they denote:

i. male human beings.
ii. female human beings.
iii. a) animate beings, other than human, of both sexes.
b) certain inanimate objects.
iv. all other inanimate objects.

It will be seen that these classes do not exactly correspond to the "Genders" of Indo-European languages as they fail to take account of sex in animals, and human beings are entirely segregated from all other things in nature.

To avoid confusion I therefore propose not to employ the term "gender" which by use has come to have a sex connotation.

On the other hand the idea in Burushaski of sex in human beings corresponds, not unnaturally, with our own, and I therefore propose to treat Burushaski nouns as being referable to three classes, or categories, composed as follows:

1. Nouns representing human beings . . . . . h category.
subdivided into masculine . . . . . hm —
and feminine . . . . . hf —
2. The names of non-human animate beings and certain inanimate objects . . . . . x category.
3. The names of all other inanimate objects . . . y category.

The proposed nomenclature is unsatisfactory, but, as will presently be seen, it is difficult to devise terms for the x and y categories which will not, by being misleading or partial, tend to prejudice the mind in its view of the classes.[1]

20. The attribution of a noun to one category or another has very extensive effects in Burushaski, comparable to, but more far-reaching than those attending gender-differentiation in gender-ridden languages like Sanskrit, Latin or German.

These effects may be summarily stated as follows:

i. There is some distinction in the plural suffixes of the nouns themselves. In general the h and x classes share one set of suffixes while the y class has a totally different set. Hf nouns have a suffix -mo added for the genitive sg. and this persists as -mu before the various case suffixes and post-positions.
ii. In certain circumstances adjectives carry plural suffixes when used with plural nouns, and these suffixes are sometimes differentiated as between h and x suffixes and y suffixes.
iii. The pronoun prefix of the 3rd. person is of the form:
i- when it relates to a sg. hm, x or y noun or to a pl. y.
mu- when it relates to a sg. hf noun.
u- when it relates to an h or x pl. noun v. § 122.
iv. The Demonstrative Pronouns and Adjectives have different forms both in the singular and plural for the three categories. E.g.
sg. h kinɛ, x gusɛ, y gutɛ *this.*
So also the interrogative Adjective and Pronoun:
sg. h amin, x amis, y amit *which?*
v. §§ 135, 139 and 161.
v. In some instances the numerals vary in form according to the category e.g.
hin hir, *a man.*
han haɣur *a horse* v. § 187.
vi. Certain parts of all verbs are inflected according to the category to which the subject belongs.

[1] For reasons unknown to me Biddulph and Leitner refer to the x and y classes as masculine and feminine respectively.

In illustration it may be stated that one of the parts of the verb which is affected by the category of the noun is the 3rd. person singular of the present tense, and we accordingly have the following variations in that part of the verb "to be":

hm	bir bai	*the man is*
hf	gus bo	*the woman is*
x a)	hʌɣur bi	*the horse is*
	bʌyum bi	*the mare is*
b)	dan bi	*the stone is*
y	tsil bila	*the water is*

It may be remarked that while the present distinguishes y sg. and y pl.

cp. tsilmiŋ bitsan *the waters are*

the termination of the Future and Preterite in the 3rd. pers. of ordinary verbs is the same whether the subject is hm, x or y sg., or y pl. v. § 274.

vii. A few transitive verbs appear in one form when the object is an h or x noun, and in another form when the object is a y noun. So:

h x d*-tsʌs	y dusu·yʌs	*to bring.*
yʌnʌs	gʌnʌs	*to take* v. § 231.

A few intransitive verbs similarly vary their root form according as the subject is h, x or y.

h x wʌlʌs	y bʌla·s	*to fall* v. § 232.

Each of these phenomena is considered in detail in its appropriate place.

21. a) It is natural to ask whether there is anything in the singular forms of nouns to indicate to which category they belong. The answer is that there is nothing resembling declensional case endings, such as the *-a* of the Latin *mensa* and the *-us* of *dominus*, but this does not exclude the possibility of the final sounds of words giving some indication of their category (as in French uninflected endings sometimes afford a clue to the gender).

The question in Burushaski is, however, complicated by the large number of foreign words which are found in the language. These are relegated to their proper categories without regard to their form, over which Burushaski exercises no control.

Many of these foreign words are obvious aliens, but of the remaining nouns in use it is not easy with our present knowledge — or at any rate with my knowledge — to assert that any particular individual is certainly original Burushaski.

It seems probable that in words of genuine Burushaski stock the final sounds:

-n, -s, -ts, -o, -u are more common in words of the h and x categories than in words of the y category,

while the finals:

-š, -č, ŋ appear to belong preponderantly to the y category.

b) The singular forms of nouns can in fact be assigned to one category or another at sight only in the comparatively rare case of their carrying a definite suffix. Of these there are few.

There are a few suffixes peculiar to nouns of the h category i.e. to nouns denoting human beings.

These are:

-ku.in } This suffix is usually added to nouns and denotes a per-
-gu.in } son in some way connected with the concept of the original noun:

yai.iŋ-gu.in *mill-man, miller.*	u·šgu.in *creditor.*
hʌɣur-ku.in *horseman, rider.*	ra·čʌku.in *guardian.*
yʌtku.in *over-man, superintendent.*	tsʌrgu.in *watchman, sentry.*

-sku.in occurs in

duro·sku.in *workman* from duro *work.*

See also in the Vocabulary:

giš̌ʌsku.in *weaver.*

-ts is found in:

dʌru·ts	*hunter.*
mʌru·ts	*gold-washer.*

From dʌru *hunting* and ·mʌru *washing for gold.*

Also probably in:

Bʌlo·ts *a Balti.*
Gu.its *a Wakhi.*
be·ri·ts *a musician.*

-kɪš This suffix is really an adjectival suffix added to nouns, indicating the possession of the property denoted by the original noun, but the adjectives thus formed can be used predicatively as noun-equivalents:

ʌqəl-kɪš(ʌn) *one possessing intelligence, intelligent.*

-či This suffix seems to be the Turkish-Persian ending, denoting as a rule an operator, and occurs only in a few loan words:

rʌmʌl-či *diviner.*
ḍa·mʌl-či *drummer.*

c) There are a few suffixes peculiar to the y category.

-kuš added to an adjective or noun gives an abstract noun:

tu·tʌŋ-kuš *darkness.*
thʌm-kuš *thum-ship, sovereignty.*

-ki occurs as a suffix in a few words, one of which is certainly, and the others probably, y.

aku·riki *this much* (cp. akhu·rum).
u·šʌki *land given to foster-relations* (from *-u·še.ʌs).[1]
*-ɣəriki *daily ration* (cp. *-ɣərum, *which falls to one's lot*).
*-ya·rɛki y *under-bedding* (from ya·rɛ).
*-yʌtɛki *upper-bedding* (from yʌtɛ).
yai.iŋki *cleaned grain ready for grinding* (from yai.iŋ *mill*).

-iš, -š (all probably š) is added to the past base of verbs and gives both abstract and concrete nouns:

ɣʌsi·š *laughter* (ɣʌsa·s *to laugh*).
hʌlki·š *womb* (hʌlka·s *to give birth*).
hərʌš *urinating, urine*(?) (hərai.ʌs).
mʌltsiš *abuse* (*-mʌltsʌs).
tʌliš (Sh. -š) *swaddling bands* (*-ltʌli.ʌs).

[1] An asterisk and dash *- preceding a word indicate that it takes a pronominal prefix. V. §§ 122 and 290.

wa·riš *cover* (wa·rʌs).

Compare also:

hɛrš *weeping* (hɛrʌs).

See in the Vocabulary:

gišʌšku.in and hɛšku.in.

The possible connection of all of these with the -š forms of the verb, dealt with in § 358, deserves consideration.

The use of a single form to denote:

1. the action of the verb
2. a concrete object

is not impossible in English, cp. *wrapping, covering* etc.

d) There are further a few borrowed nouns with the Shina masculine and feminine endings -o and -i.

šugu·lo *male friend.* šugu·li *female friend.*
gəro·no *bridegroom.* gəro·ni *bride.*

These are treated as hm and hf respectively.

22. In general no difficulty arises in deciding what is human and so named with an h noun, but where we have to do with supernatural beings a few border cases occur. In the West we recognise human kinship between ourselves and our fairies, ogres and demons, our gods and our devils. Our attitude is one of uncritical anthropomorphism; but the mind that can think in Burushaski is more discriminating. In Burushaski the words

pəri denoting *something akin to our fairy.*
bilas *a kind of female demon.*
ra·či *a guardian spirit also female.*
yʌčɛni *a kind of ogress.*
Dʌdi *the name of a particular supernatural female.*

are all hf nouns, as their counterparts are with us. Indeed I know of no female semi-human being who is not treated as human, but

pfut *a male demon,* or *Div.*
boyo *a kind of animal god.*
Čihil Gʌzi *the name of a "Jinn."*
ʌždər *a monster or dragon of some kind.*

are all x nouns, though the pfut is sometimes humanised. All Jinns are said to be x, but the term is a foreign one and used loosely.

23. Cases of doubtful citizenship between h and x are few. It is the allocation of the names of inanimate objects to the x and y classes that presents the great crux in the classification of Burushaski nouns and drives us to search for any underlying principles which may assist us in "placing" a noun of which the meaning is known, but not the inflection or action.

The following are the results which the examination of a large number of x and y nouns has yielded.[1]

Among the *y nouns* are ranged the names of:

1. Liquids, considered as liquids, e.g. water, milk, wine, rain etc.
   An exception is iran = *cream*.
   Where there is an entity considered apart from the actual liquid the noun may be x as in the case of:
   pʃəri x *a pond*.
   gor x *water pouring down, waterfall*.
   *-u x *tear*.
   but sinda *a river* is y.
   Vapours are also y as: smoke, steam, clouds, mist, and the intangible wind.
2. Plastic Substances e.g. dough, mud, resin, butter, ghee.

[1] My remarks on the morphology and classification of nouns are based on the examination of something over 1800 nouns, which are distributed approximately as follows:

h nouns		208
x nouns animate	127	
inanimate	426	553
		738
y nouns		309
nouns of which the class is unknown to me		
		1603

In the y class are included some 87 nouns denoting abstract or immaterial conceptions as to whose class positive evidence is lacking.

3. Substances consisting of Powder, or which are finely granular, e.g. flour, sand, earth, granular salt and sugar, and most of the finer grains: wheat, barley, rice, buckwheat. The coarser cereals are x e.g. Indian corn (mealies), peas, beans (note the plural in English).
   Substances consisting of Fine fibre may be included in the same category: wool, cotton, down are y. So also: hair (human and animal) with the exception of
   *-piniše x which I think means *short* human hair.
   The word for a single hair, however, is also y.
   A plait of hair is x borno, or y šæbak (N.) "a thin plait."
   Chopped straw and bran, and sticks (ɣašiliŋ) in bulk as firewood are y.
   ɣašil, an individual stick, is x.
4. Trees except the vine (šu·n) which is x. Smaller plants appear to be about equally divided between x and y.
5. Metals. But objects composed principally of metal appear to be about equally divided between x and y. Names of firearms and most coins are x.
6. Abstract Ideas, constituting what are known as Abstract Nouns, appear to be all y.
7. Immaterial "Objects" appear to be mostly y, e.g. dream, share, narration, word, quarrel, promise, light, sleep (dan).
8. Divisions of Time, year, month, week, day, midday, night, and Seasons, spring, summer, autumn, winter.

24. Among the *x nouns* are found the names of:

1. Fruits, apricot, apple, melon, pear, but ɣe.iŋ, grapes, is y.
   In many cases the name of a tree and its fruit are the same, but the former is y and has a y plural, and the latter x with an x plural, or with the singular form used as a plural.
   ba·lt pl. ba·ltiŋ y *apple-tree*.
   ba·lt pl ba·lt, ba·ltišo x *apple* (*fruit*).
2. Wood and Articles made of Wood.
   There are a few exceptions:

galtaˑr y (one word for) *branch.*
gaṇ̌ y *spindle.*
balk y *plank.*
žame y *a bow*, cited by Biddulph, is not an exception, as bows are made of ibex horn, not of wood.

Under this head may be included articles made of Wickerwork.

3. Stone and Stone Articles:
stone, boulder, pebble, mortar, brick, rock salt, stone cooking pot, mill-stone etc.

4. Articles made by Spinning or analogous method, thread, string, rope etc., but these are not numerous.

5. The Sun, Moon and the word for Star.

Among the nouns which do not show a decided tendency to the one category or the other are the names of

woven materials, cloth, articles of clothing,
hide and skin and articles thereof,
parts of the body,
plants (as already stated).

25. Instances occur in which the same noun may be of different categories corresponding to a variation in its meaning, or in the nature of the object to which it refers.

a) Thus nouns denoting a Bit or Piece of a thing may be x or y according to the thing which is under consideration. Thus:

čuruˑk *a piece* or *bit.*
traŋ *half, share, portion.*
kaman *a little.*

are x or y according to the category of the article referred to.

b) The same noun may represent things of a different nature, or presenting different aspects:

{ bayundo x *leavened bread.*
{ bayundo y *leavened dough.*
{ baiyu x *rock salt.*
{ baiyu y *granular salt.*

{ dustsak x pl. *cooking utensils.*
{ dustsak y pl. *miscellaneous articles.*
ɣašil x *a stick.*
x pl. *sticks.*
y pl. *firewood.*
{ toˑri x *plug, stopper.*
{ toˑri y *quarter of a flap-jack.*

It has been noted above that where the same word denotes both a tree and its fruit, the fruit is x, and the tree is y.

c) In the case of ɣuˑa there are perhaps two distinct words, but
{ ɣuˑa x means the *moonless part of the month.*
{ ɣuˑa y means *descent, downward slope, afternoon.*
pl. ɣuˑamiŋ.

A curious phenomenon is the difference said to exist in the plural, and presumably in the singular also, of

*-uˑl *belly.*
x pl. uˑlišo *human bellies, stomachs.*
y pl. uˑliŋ *bellies, stomachs, of animals.*

The explanation probably is that the human belly is normally seen only from the outside and is considered a simple organ, while the animal's belly is regarded as consisting of the entrails etc. which are found when it is slaughtered and eviscerated.

Another curious case is:

ɣeniš hf *queen*; ɣeniš y *gold.*

Cp. Shina son *gold*; soˑni *queen.*

Note.

a) From the analysis given above of the types of objects of which the names fall into the x and y categories respectively, it will be seen that no single factor emerges clearly as governing the inclusion of nouns in the one category or the other.

One general principle does, however, seem to be dominant over a wide sphere: Tangible concrete objects of determined form, when considered as units without special regard to the material of which they are composed, are designated as a rule by x nouns.

On the other hand, objects of undetermined form and extension, consisting of homogeneous, divisible material considered in the mass, are designated by

y nouns. This definition includes granular, plastic,—liquid and gaseous matters, as also metals as such. It includes further all immaterial abstractions, as these have no definiteness of form or extension to warrant their inclusion under the x definition.

This principle of distinction, though of wide application, is far from being universal, and there remain many words whose presence in one category or the other it does nothing to explain. Compare e.g.

y		*x*	
buˑr	*a single hair.*	ʂər	*thread.*
*-riŋ	*hand, arm.*	*-ʌmiš	*finger.*
*-ltumʌl	*ear.*	*-umʌs	*tongue.*
bʌlk	*plank.*	huˑn	*wood, log.*
waˑlgi	*cord.*	gʌšk	*rope.*
harpit	*strap.*		
ha	*house.*	gʊti	*hut.*

b A new line of approach to the relation of the x and y categories has recently been opened up by Professor Siddheshwar Varma, who has made the discovery that when a y noun is the subject of a transitive verb, the verb assumes its x form.

Judging from my texts, the situation does not very frequently arise, differentiation of form only occurs in certain tenses, and there are at any rate exceptions when the verb appears in the y form which one would expect.

Professor Varma links this anomaly of y subject and x-form transitive verb with the fact that all animate beings, other than human, are classed as x, and he draws the deduction that the x class was, at least originally, an "animate-active class." He claims that his "investigations have shown that the *active animate* principle is a prominent, if not the predominant feature of this gender."

I am not at present prepared either to accept or to reject this theory as the necessary explanation of the facts. Professor Varma himself is careful to point out that "the 'active animate' principle, then, though prominent in this gender is *far from being predominant* or universal. This label . . . . is only indicatory and not expressive, but the conventional name proposed has some basis in it."

The whole situation, I think, requires further study.

In the meantime I can only add two points:

1. That instances of a transitive verb with a y subject being put in the y form, are more numerous than the one solitary example encountered by Professor Varma would lead one to suppose.
2. That among the x nouns which I have recorded only about one-fifth are names of animate beings, the remaining four-fifths denoting inanimate objects in which no animate active quality is apparent.

As regards the first point, the y form of the transitive verb *-ʌtʌs appears in the series of idioms referred to in § 261 II, as well as—in the case of the verb *-xolʌs *to hurt, pain*, which appears to be transitive.

It is impossible satisfactorily to investigate such questions of linguistic usage except on the spot. I may, however, record the results of the following attempts.

I referred to friends in Gilgit the four sentences given by Professor Varma on p. 14 of his article and these were passed as correct with x forms of the verbs. At the same time I drew up and submitted for translation 12 sentences with y subjects and transitive verbs. Of these the native informants rendered 8 with x forms of the verbs and 2 with y forms, and in 1 a y form seems to have been first used and only to have been altered to an x form after the substitution of an x subject for the original y one. In the 12th. sentence an undifferentiating tense was used.

This gives a very large preponderance to x forms but that there are any exceptions is a significant fact. One of them resembles Professor Varma's example in which he suggests that the verb may not really be transitive, but the other two seem to be exactly analogous to the 8 with x-form verbs.

26. Number.

There are two numbers in Burushaski, singular and plural.

As a rule the plural is distinguished from the singular by the addition of a suffix. Occasionally the plural form is identical with the singular.

I know of no case where the plural is a different word from the singular, or where it is formed otherwise than by the addition of a suffix to the singular, with, at the most, the loss of a final consonant or the modification of a final vowel, except *-ʌi *daughter*, pl. *-yuguʒʌnts.

There are many plural suffixes and roughly they fall into two series:

those used with h and x nouns,

those used with y nouns.

h and x, however, have each one or two plural endings which they do not share.

There is only one ending which is doubtfully common to y and the other two categories (-oˑŋo).

In many cases alternative plural forms are given for the same noun with different endings (within its own category), and the

proper form of plural seems sometimes to be a matter of doubt or of personal preference.

Before giving the plural endings in detail it may be convenient to mention the final sounds which mark the endings of the plural suffixes used for the different categories.

They are as follows:

h -o, -ts, -nts, -i, -u, -koˑn, -tiŋ.
x -o, -ts, -nts.
y (-ŋo), -ŋ.

27. II Plural suffixes.

The suffixes -i -ɪndəro -koˑn
-tiŋ -tsəro
are peculiar to h. The rest are shared with x.

Some changes of the final sounds of the singular when the plural ending is added appear to be universal:

-n + o → yo. This is the usual plural of nouns ending in -n.
In a few cases -n also disappears before -ʌnts.

-s + vowel → -š-.

-š (š) is dropped before -ʌnts, and there is usually some juggling with the vowels

-ts + o → -čo.

-o + consonant may be reduced to -u- e.g.
lɛˑḍo *bastard* lɛˑḍumuts.

28. The following are the h suffixes. The examples given illustrating them include adjectives.

1. -ʌnts and allied forms in -nts.
-kɪš always has the plural -kiˑʌnts, -kiˑɛnts.
ʌqəlkɪš, *intelligent person* ʌqəlkiˑɛnts.
*-xundikɪš *hunchback*, *-xundikiˑɛnts.
ɣɛnɪš *queen* pl. ɣɛnʌnts.
pfopuš *bastard* pfoˑpiˑɛnts.
ɣaɣu *lame* ɣaɣuˑnts and ɣaɣutiŋ.
ɣiˑn *thief* ɣi(y)ʌnts, and ɣiˑyo, (and ɣiyʌŋ?).

dʌsin *girl* pl. dʌsiwʌnts.
*-uˑs *wife* *-ušints.
Abnormal are:
gus *woman* pl. gušiŋɛnts.
*-ʌˑi *daughter* *-yugušʌnts (*-i + u + gus + ʌnts?)
Apart from further examples of -kɪš I know no more h plurals in -nts.

2. -dəro, -təro this is probably the real form of the suffix, though one hears only -əro with nouns ending in -d or -t.

*-xʌkin	*daughter-in-law*	*-xʌkindəro.
*-saɣun	*nephew, niece*	*-saɣundəro.
guš puˑr	*prince*	guš puˑrtəro, *or* guš puˑrtiŋ, *or* guš puˑrɪšo.
seˑit	*Saiyid*	seˑitəro.
šuˑgird	*pupil*	šagɪrdəro and šagɪrdɪšo.

A form -ɪndəro appears in the following.

*-rik	*man's brother-in-law*	*-rikɪndəro.
*-ʌskɪr	*father-in-law*	*-ʌskundəro.
*-ʌskus	*mother-in-law*	

3. -i occurs only in:

hiˑr	*man*	hiˑri.

4. -ɪndəro see -dəro.

5. -ɪšo, -išo, -šo a very common ending. The form with the initial vowel is the ordinary one. The form without the vowel occurs with some words ending in -r and -l.

*-uyər	*husband*	*-uyəršo.

6. -juko, juko, -juˑko vide under x suffixes.

7. -ko occurs with the adjectives.

dʌltʌs	*handsome, good*	dʌltʌško.
uyuˑm	*big man, leading man.*	uyoˑmko, uyoˑŋko.

8. -koᵛn occurs only with

*-ʌčo	*man's brother*, *woman's sister*.	*-ʌčukoᵛn.

9. -muts common following a vowel

gəroᵛno	*bridegroom*	gəroᵛnomuts.
joᵛto	*child*	joᵛtumuts.

10. -nčo occurs only in

giyaᵛs, gü.aᵛs	*infant*	giyaᵛnčo.

11. -nts vide -ʌnts.

12. -o a) is the regular ending for the plural of the Noun Agent of the form of the Infinitive, ending in -ʌs. The -s changes to -š

ɛtʌs	*doer*	ɛtʌšo	*doers*.

Of course it is possible in these cases that the suffix is -šo.
ɛtʌs + -šo → ɛtʌšo.

b) otherwise it is used with:

thʌm	*Tham, ruler*	thʌmo.
hilɛᵛs	*boy*	hilɛᵛšo.
bilʌs	*female demon*	bilʌšo.

c) it also occurs with nouns in -ts, which becomes -č-:

beriᵛts	*Dom, musician*	beričo.
huyɛᵛltərts	*herdsman*	huyɛᵛltərčo.
guᵛits	*a Wakhi man*	gu.iᵛčo.

d) it is the usual suffix for words ending in -n, the -n- being dropped and a glide -y- or -iy- being substituted.

All nouns with the suffix -ku.in, -gu.in have the plural -kuᵛyo (sometimes -ki.o, ki u) and -guᵛyo.

duroᵛsku.in	*hired labourer*	duroᵛskuᵛyo, *or* duroᵛski.o.
tsərgu.in	*watchman*	tsərguᵛyo.
dʌmʌn	*owner*	dʌmaiyo.
naᵛdaᵛn	*ignorant one*	naᵛdaᵛyo.
γiᵛn	*thief*	γiᵛyo.
γulčin	*Rajah's cook*	γulčiyo.

Irregular is:

oᵛʒin	*guest*	oᵛʒo.

Perhaps oᵛšin is oᵛši + -ʌn (the suffix of singleness).
The Shina singular is oᵛšo.

13. -oᵛŋo, -oᵛmo presents some difficulty. It appears to occur in all three classes h, x and y. In h I have found it with one exception, only in adjectives which may be used substantively:

čʌt	*short, low*	čʌtoᵛŋo.
dʌyᵛ(?)	*stout*	dʌyoᵛmo.
γut	*deaf*	γutoᵛmo.
tsŏn, tsun	*slave*	tsonoᵛŋo, *or* tsonoᵛmo.

(For the interchangeability of ŋ and m v. § 8. h.)

14. -tiŋ the only plural suffix in h or x nouns ending in -ŋ. It is very common and is often found with obviously foreign words:

dəruᵛts	*hunter*	dəruᵛtstiŋ, and -ɪšo.
hʌji	*Hajji*	hʌjitiŋ.
muriᵛd	*disciple*	muriᵛdtiŋ.
ustaᵛt	*musician* etc.	ustaᵛtiŋ (with loss of -t-).
yaᵛraᵛn	*friend*	yaᵛraᵛntiŋ and yaᵛraiyo.

It occurs twice added to foreign plurals:

paᵛdša	*king*	paᵛdšahaᵛntiŋ.
piɪ	*holy man*	piᵛraᵛntiŋ.

15. -tsəro occurs only with nouns denoting blood relations and with them is common.

*-uᵛy	*father*	*-uᵛtsəro.
*-mi	*mother*	*-mitsəro.
*-ŋgo	*uncle*	*-ŋgutsəro.

With the suppression of an s to avoid the combination -sts-.

*-ulus	*woman's brother*	*-ulutsəro.
*-yʌs	*man's sister*	*-yʌstəro.

16. -u occurs in:

*-i	*son*	*-yu.
gʌs	*princess*	gʌšu.

where it is probably distinct from -o; also in:

bʌγərk	*evil*	bʌγərku.

29. X Plural suffixes.

The same changes in the final sounds of singular forms when plural suffixes are added to them as were noted in the h nouns are also usual in the x nouns, but there are more variations and special cases. These will be recorded under each suffix as they occur.

The suffixes peculiar to x which are not shared by h are:
-ai.i, -do, -jo and uts.

The following are the x suffixes:

1. -ai.i is only recorded in:

huk	*dog*	hukai.i.
u·rk	~~*wolf*~~	u·rkai.i.

2. -ants and allied forms in -nts:

u·ṭ	*camel*	u·ṭants.
ču·r	*knife*	čurants.
baṣ	*bridge*	baṣants.

-i.ants occurs in:

həri·p	*tune*	həri·pi.ants ‖ həri·pants.

-ents occurs in:

kaŋ	*pool*	kaŋents.

and results from -i + -ants in:

gabi	*reed, tube*	gabents.
kurdi	*shirt*	kurdents.
mili	*medicine*	milents.

-i ants, -i.ents result from:

(1). -iš, -iš + -ants:

*-amiš	*finger*	-ami.ants, -ents.
i·riš	*crest of spur*	iri.ants, -ents *and* i·rišo.
pfəriš	*duck*	pfəri.ants.
pfultiŋiš	*bellows*	pfultiŋi.ents.
pfutu·niš	*brand (burning)*	pfutu·ni.ents.

(2). -uš + -ants.

bu·puš	*pumpkin*	bu·pi.ents.

(3). -kiš + -ants, as in h.

šepalkiš	*sheep*	šepalki.ants.

(In all these the final is probably -š).

-a·nts results from:

(1). -anč + -ants in:

gasanč	*hawk*	gaša·nts

(2). -š (š?) + -ants in:

sindiš	*goose*	sinda·nts.

(3). -aš and -i·š + -ants:

kawaš	*leather bag*	kawa·nts.
həri·š	*wooden shovel*	həra·nts.

-o·nts results from -u + -ants:

bai.yu	*rock salt*	baiyo·nts.	ɣalɣu	*insect*	ɣalɣo·nts.
dulu	*thin rope*	dulo·nts.	ɣamu	*ice*	ɣamo·nts, ɣamu·nts.
gaṣyu	*red-legged partridge*	gaṣyo·nts.	ɣuku	*goitre, gorge*	ɣuko·nts.

but, ɣaṣyu *lame* ɣaṣyu·nts, ɣaṣyumuts.

-wants results from:

(1). -š + -ants:

balo·š	*stone pot*	balowants.

(2). -šo + -ants:

bušo·šo	*calf*	bušowants.

and also occurs in:

du	*kid*	duwants.
dau.o	*griddle*	dauwants, dau.umuts.

-yants results from: -us, -u·s + -ants:

i·mɛkus	*door-peg, rung*	i·mɛkuyants.
yatoku·s	*upper millstone*	yatokuyants.
yaroku·s	*lower millstone*	yarokuyants.

-uyants occurs in:

sərik	*door-bar*	sərikuyants *and* sərikišo,

but sərikuyanta probably belongs to another singular form, sərikus, which occurs in Nagiri and in Shina.

3. -ints appears to be independent of -ants. It occurs in:

bukak	*beans*	bukakints.
ɟaɽ ča	*kind of millet*	čai.ints.
dadər	*scree*	dadərints.

and probably in

b u.a	*cow*	bu.ents (= a + -ints).
kin'e.ints ‖ kin'a		stalks (of wheat etc), straw.

anomalous is

toq	*cultivated land*	toqai.ints ‖ toqants.

(The suffixes -ints and -ai.ints are common in Nagiri v. § 481).

4. -do occurs only in:

bu'n	*boulder*	bu'ndo.

5. -išo, -iso, *and* -šo is a common ending:

dišč̌ik	*brick*	dišč̌ikišo.
čərak	*carcase*	čərakišo.
hayur	*horse*	hayurišo.

-šo is used chiefly with nouns ending in -r and -l:

o'ɣur	*wave*	o'ɣuršo.
ḍa'mal	*small drum*	ḍa'malšo.
dir	*bough*	diršu (= -šo?).

This suffix does not often occur after a final vowel, but we have:

biraɣo	*foal*	biraɣušo.
dəro'ɣo	*stick*	dəro'ɣošo, *or* dəro'ɣo.išo.

Anomalous are:

baskaret, baskarət	*ram*	baskarešo, baskarišo.
čitəri'z	*spark of fire*	čitəri'išo (?).

6. -jo occurs only in a few words:

hal	*fox*	haljo.	töl	(*cobbler's*) *awl*	toljo.
tal	*pigeon*	taljo.	töl	*snake*	toljo.
tiu	*bone*	tinjo.			

7. -juko, ju'ko. This suffix is used only with a few adjectives. To judge from the examples available the resulting plural forms are used both as adjectives and as substantives. The following are the only examples of this form which I have met with:

aki'l	*like this, similar*	aki'juko (adj.).	ju.an	*like*	ju.anjuko.
(han)	*alike, identical*	hanjuko (adj.).	šati'lo	*powerful*	šati'ljuko.
(bečuk)	*of what sort*	beljuko (adj.).	te.il	*such*	te'ljuko (adj.).
	double plural:	beljukuyo, beljuki.ents.			
daldalum	*broad*	daldaljuko (adj.).			

8. -ko is found in the following:

čər	*cliff*	čərko.
čiš	*ladder, bier*	čiško.
čiš	*mountain*	čiško.
pi'nč	*stick for playing a game*	pi'nčko.
šər	*branch*	šərko.

It occurs also in the plural of some adjectives:

uyu'm	*big*	uyu'mko, *and* uyo'ŋko.
khu't	*short*	khutu'iko,

especially in the plural of those adjectives whose base ends in -n, including those where the -n base is followed by the adjectival ending -um. In these cases the -num of the singular is replaced by -iko. Thus:

bi.enum	*thin*	bi.e'iko, bi.ai.iko.	ju.an	*like, similar*	juwai.iko.
daɣanum	*stout*	daɣai.iko.	tha'num	*high, tall*	thai.iko.
ɣusanum	*long*	ɣusai.iko.	giligi'num	*thin*	gili'ko.
			(and gilinum?)		

(but: čanum *tight* čanumišo (x), čanumiŋ (y).
laɣan *dumb* laɣai.o.
šo'n *blind* šono'mo).

These -ko forms when used adjectivally are, as far as my records indicate, applicable to all three classes, h, x, and y.

9. -muts. -umuts. This is a very common suffix. The latter form is used with nouns which end in a consonant in the singular. but there are few such cases.

*-aso	*kidney*	*-asumuts.
*-as	*heart*	*-asumuts.
bada	*flying squirrel*	badamuts.

čumo	*fish*	čumomuts, *or*, čumumuts.
giši	*line*	gišimuts.

In one case where this suffix is used with a noun ending in -in the -in is dropped:

*-lčin	*eye*	*-lčumuts.

Similarly -ıs is dropped in:

*-yatıs	*head*	*-yatumuts.

and -ŋ in:

jukaŋ	*w.c., privy*	jukamuts, jukaŋuts, jukaiyo.
but: nironaŋ	*rainbow*	nironaŋmuts, nironaŋišo.

10. -o. a) A common suffix, occurs chiefly with nouns ending in -n and -s, when phonetic changes take place. In the following it succeeds other consonants which remain unaltered:

i·riš	*crest of spur*	i·rišo, i·ri.ants.	sal	*mill-stone*	salo.
gašk	*rope*	gaško.	sər	*hare*	səro.
γašk	*withe*	γaško.	sər	*thread*	səro.
hər	*ox, bull*	həro.			

and the adjective:

daŋ	*hard*	daŋo.

it is added to a vowel in:

γa	*crow*	γaiyo (*or*, ga, gayu).

b) -n + -o gives -yo. This is the usual plural for nouns in -n:

butu·n	*purse*	butu·yo.	*-γa·n	*heel*	*-γa·yo.
či·n	*bird*	či·yo.	jakun	*donkey*	jaku·yo.
dan	*stone*	daiyo.			

but: hu·n	*timber*	hu·nants.	
yan	*handle*	yanants.	

and others.

c) -ŋ is rare in x, and is probably only a variant of n. In a few cases -ŋ + -o gives -yo.

biltsuŋ	*quadruped*	biltsu·yo.
jukaŋ	*w.c., privy*	jukaiyo, jukaŋuts, etc.
min·altiŋ	*pelvis*	miŋ altiyo.
tiŋ	*egg* has plur.	tiŋaiyo.

Tiŋ however seems to be an incorrect substitute for tiŋan (egg, *not* tiŋ + -an = one egg).

d) -s + -o → -šo:

ačas	*lamb*	ačašo.	bare·s	*artery*	bare·šo.
*-umus	*tongue*	*-umušo.	ho·lalas	*butterfly*	holalašo.
balas	*bird*	balašo.	me·nis	*sheep*	me·nišo.

In two cases we have -čo.

girkıs	*rat*	girkičo.
γərkas	*lizard*	γərkačo.

anomalous is:

ti·s	*grain pit*	tišaiyo (*also* tišants, tisants).

e) -ts + -o → -čo:

*-dumuts	*knee*	*-dumučo.
γokuıats	*raven*	γokuıačo.
haγuts	*mountain pass*	haγučo, haγutsišo.
qərqa·muts	*fowl*	qərqa·mučo.

11. -o·ŋo, -o·mo. This is a rare suffix and an ambiguous one. We have found it among the h suffixes in the plural of some adjectives, and these forms are equally to be reckoned as x. It occurs also with a few y nouns, see below. Here we have to note:

bas (*or* y?)	*ploughshare*	bašo·ŋo.
bu·s	*sheaf, bundle of grass*	bušo·ŋo (bušo·no).
bu·š	*cat*	bušo·ŋo.
čər (*or* y?)	*slice*	čəro·ŋo.
γus	*clod*	γušo·ŋo, and γušo.

12. -təro. In the only available examples of nouns used with this suffix the singular ends in -t and there is no sound of double -tt-, so the suffix might be -əro. On the analogy of the h -təro and -tiŋ, however, it is fairly safe to asume that the form is -təro or -dəro. The only examples on record are:

e·lgit	*she-goat*	e·lgitəro.
güyalt	*ladle*	güyaltəro.
žai.it	*he-goat (castrated)*	žai.itəro.

13. -u. There are only two examples of the use of this suffix on record. I do not think the -u here is a variant of -o.

gas	*thick thread, yarn*	gašu.
pfut	*demon*	pfut u. pfutants.

14. -uts. This is a common suffix. It is only used with words ending in a consonant:

čilim	*tobacco pipe*	čilimuts.
*-dim	*body, person*	*-dimuts.
hanik	*large wooden vessel*	hanikuts.
špi'k	*bread, food*	špikuts.
yai.iŋ	*will*	yai.iŋuts.

The only animal name taking this suffix is:

ku'k, xu'k	*pig*	ku'kuts. *and* -išo.

15. -zε ← ts + -ε occurs only in:

hu'nts	*arrow*	hu'nzε.

30. It will be noticed that no principal type of suffix is used exclusively for animate beings or for inanimate objects. Only the plurals bu'ndo and hu'nzε have no parallel in names of animals. As far as pure nouns are concerned -ko is limited to names of inanimate objects, but it occurs in the plurals of adjectives with reference to nouns of all three classes.

31. Y Plural suffixes.

A few phonetic phenomena of more or less general occurrence may be roughly indicated:

-n disappears before a plural suffix.
-nč (actually -nč?) similarly disappears before a vowel.
-s becomes -š- before a vowel.
-š, -ş disappear or become -r- before the vowel -a-.
-š, -ş remain or become -r- before the vowel -i-.

32. The following are the y plural suffixes:

1. -ŋ added to words ending in a vowel:

bada	*sole of foot*	badaŋ.	hurgo	*ascent*	hurgo'ŋ.
balda	*load*	baldaŋ.	ya'rəki	*under-bedding*	ya'rəkiŋ,
gatu	*cloth*	gatuŋ.			ya'rəkimiŋ, ya'rəkičiŋ.

2. -aŋ.

hi'sk	*comb, loom*	hiskaŋ.	*-multu'r	*nostril*	*-multu'raŋ.
*-mɛlč	*jaw*	*-mɛlčaŋ.	ti'šk	*dagger*	ti'škaŋ.

3. -i.aŋ occurs in the following:

bu'l	*spring of water*	bu'li.aŋ.	*-ltu'r	*horn*	*-ltu'ri.aŋ (-i.ɛŋ).
bu'r	*single hair*	bu'ri.aŋ, *and* bu'raŋ.	tu'r	*horn*	tu'ri.aŋ (-aŋ).
čot	*storehouse*	čoti.aŋ.			

4. -ɛŋ occurs in the following:

(1). bač-ɛŋ *fissure in ice.* hu'rt-ɛŋ *revetting wall.*
similarly: bal-ɛŋ *wall.* xat-ɛŋ *letter.*
bat-ɛŋ *shale.* mal-ɛŋ *field.*
dərts-ɛŋ *threshing floor.* mərt-ɛŋ (and -iŋ) *earth cliff.*
gal-ɛn *suspension bridge.* to'm-ɛ *tree.*
gan-ɛŋ (usually -iŋ) *road.* wat-ɛŋ *rind, bark.*
gu'k-ɛŋ *mortising chisel.* wat-ɛŋ *ploughing.*
gut-ɛŋ *tent.*

(2). results from -i + -aŋ.

basi	*garden*	basɛŋ.	hali	*birch bark*	halɛŋ.
dəri	*window*	dərɛŋ.	qači	*scissors*	qačɛŋ.
gaši	*pine tree*	gašəŋ.	tili	*walnut tree*	tilɛŋ.

5. -iŋ very common: E.g.

asta'm	*judgement*	asta'miŋ.	bərpit	*strap*	bərpitiŋ.
*-akat	*flank*	*-akatiŋ.	tal	*birch tree*	taliŋ.

Final -ɛ is elided in:

žame	*bow*	žamiŋ, (*and*, -ɛŋ).	

6. -ai.iŋ:

(1). occurs independently in:
hiŋ (cp. tiŋ — tiŋaiyo) *door* hiŋai-iŋ.
(2). results from -a + -iŋ in:
huma *ford* humai.iŋ.
(3). results from -an + -iŋ in:
čapan *robe* čapai.iŋ r. § 33. 1.

7. -o'ŋ:

(1). balk *plank* balko'ŋ. tap *leaflet* tapo'ŋ.

(2). results from -u + -aŋ. E.g.

bəru	*buckwheat*	bəroˑŋ.
dayu (*or*, dayo)	*gum*	dayoˑŋ.
ju	*apricot tree*	joˑŋ.
muˑrəmu	*file*	muˑrmoŋ.
*-tsu	*track*	*-tsoˑŋ.

(3). results from -o + -aŋ?

hurgo	*ascent*	hurgoˑŋ.

Cp. supra under 1. -ŋ.

8. -ičaŋ, -čaŋ, fairly common:

bap	*tribute*	bapičaŋ.	pfask	*harrow*	pfaskičaŋ.
bel	*shovel*	belčaŋ.	tərk	*byre*	tərkičaŋ.
čap	*meat*	čapičaŋ (also -miŋ, -iŋ).	tsak	*sluice*	tsakicaŋ.
galgi	*wing*	galgičaŋ.			

9. -ičiŋ, -čiŋ, common:

bo	*seed grain*	boˑčiŋ.	*-ŋgi	*beard*	*-ŋgičiŋ.
ge	*snow*	gečiŋ.	pfaˑk	*fig tree*	pfaˑkičiŋ.
juraˑb	*sock*	juraˑbičiŋ.	pfilam	*pattoo, homespun*	pfilamičiŋ.
xamali	*thin bread*	xamaličiŋ.	*-riŋ	*hand*	*-riŋčiŋ.

10. -jō, -juŋ occurs only in:

gal	*juniper tree*	galjō, galjuŋ.
gal	*bridge*	galjuŋ & galen.

11. -kičaŋ occurs only in:

ha	*house*	haˑkičaŋ (← ha + ik + ičaŋ?).

12. -kiŋ occurs only in:

bər	*nullah*	bərkiŋ.

13. -mičiŋ occurs in the following:

bi.ai.i	*disease*	bi.ai.imičiŋ.	ji	*life, soul*	jimičiŋ (*and* -miŋ).
bu.i	*shovel*	bu.imičiŋ.	le.i	*loop-hole*	le.imičiŋ.
bu.i	*shoulder-blade*	bu.imičiŋ.	lili o	*violet*	lili.omičiŋ (*and* -miŋ)
bušai.i	*land*	bušai.imičin.			

14. -miŋ common, especially after a vowel, but there are also examples of it following l, r, s, š, ṣ, n and p:

bada	*pace*	badamiŋ.	čaya	*narrative*	čayamiŋ.

čap	*meat*	čapmiŋ, -iŋ, -ičaŋ.	piˑni	*lower leg*	pinimiŋ.
das	*waste ground*	dasmiŋ.	še	*wool*	šemiŋ.
den	*year*	denmiŋ, deniŋ.	ter	*grazing ground*	termiŋ.
diš	*place*	dišmiŋ.	tail	*water*	tsilmiŋ.
gaš	*price*	gašmiŋ.			

A connecting vowel is inserted in:

lik	*bribe*	likimiŋ.
muč	*fist*	mučumiŋ.

15. -oˑŋo, -oˑmo (cp. §§ 28. 13 & 29. 11) occurs in:

ban	*thing for lying with*	banoˑmo.	ču	*ear of corn*	čoˑŋo.
bas	probably x, *plough-share*	basoˑŋo.	pfal	*a grain*	pfaloˑŋo, pfaloˑmo,
bat	*skin*	batoˑŋo.			pfalumo.

16. -tiŋ occurs only in:

baˑgo	*share*	baˑgutiŋ.

33. **Cases in which a final consonant of a y noun is dropped or altered.**

1. Final -an + -iŋ → -ai.iŋ:

čapan	*robe*	čapai.iŋ.	šəran	*ruin*	šərai.iŋ.
haiyan	*token*	haiyai.iŋ.	tawan	*fine*	tawai.iŋ.
multan	*blood*	multai.iŋ.			

but:

tiskan	*earthquake*	tiskaniŋ.

and with other vowels:

den	*year*	deniŋ, denmiŋ.
halimoˑn	*wager*	halimoˑn iŋ.
nišaˑn	*sign*	nišaˑniŋ.

2. Final -in + -miŋ → imiŋ in:

*-akin	*liver*	*-akimiŋ.
batsin	*thigh*	batsimiŋ.

3. Final -anč, -enč + -an → -aˑŋ:

biranč	*mulberry tree*	biraˑŋ.	manč	*adze*	maˑŋ.
ganč (-č?)	*spindle*	gaˑŋ.	yatenč	*sword*	yataˑŋ.
həranč	*pitch fork*	həraˑŋ.			

4. Final -inč + -ʌŋ → -i.eŋ:

bakinč	*razor*	baki.eŋ.

5. Final -s + vowel → -š-:

gupʌs	*cotton*	gupʌšiŋ.	thʌmus	*preparatory ploughing*	thʌmušiŋ.
lʌkpi·s	*handkerchief*	lʌkpi·šiŋ.			
mo·s	*mud flood*	mo·šiŋ	*-tʌtʌs	*palm of the hand*	*-tʌtʌšiŋ.
pfo·pus	*besom*	pfo·pušiŋ.			
			tu·s	*grave*	tu·šaŋ.

but:

ka·rtu·s	*cartridge*	ka·rtu·siŋ.

6. Final -is is dropped in:

*-utis	*foot*	*-utiŋ.

7. Final -š and š disappear, it seems, when followed by -ʌŋ, but remain when followed by -iŋ and -miŋ:

birkɪš	*treasury*	birkɪšiŋ.	te·ŋuš	*palace*	te·ŋušiŋ.
či·pupuš	*whirlwind*	či·pupušiŋ	te·š	*oath*	te·šmiŋ.
gʌš	*price*	gʌšmiŋ.	ti·š	*iron ploughshare*	ti·šiŋ.
ho·lgu·š	*battle*	ho·lgu·šiŋ.	ti·š	*wind*	ti·šmiŋ.
i·lmeš	*edge*	i·lmešiŋ.			

Final -ʌš + -ʌŋ (?) → -a·ŋ:

čʌš	*thorn*	ča·ŋ.
ɣuɪʌš	*excrement*	ɣuɪa·ŋ.

Final -š + -ʌŋ → -r- in:

birkɪš	*treasury*	birki·rʌŋ *and* birkɪšiŋ.
mʌltʌš	*ghee*	mʌltʌrʌŋ, (but also, mʌltʌriŋ), *lumps of ghee.*

It is dropped in:

biserš	*sickle*	bisərʌŋ.

Final -cš or -eš + -ʌŋ:

me·š (š?)	*seedling*	ma·ŋ.
me·š	*skin bag for grain*	me·yʌŋ *and* me·šiŋ.

Final -iš, -uš (probably š) + ʌŋ → i.ʌŋ, i.eŋ:

*-čo·njuš	*beak*	*-čo·nji.ʌŋ.	təriš	*hole*	təri.ʌŋ.
ge·nɪš	*smaller leather bag*	ge·niyeŋ.	wa·rɪš	*lid, cover*	wa·ri.ʌŋ.
*-moqɪš	*cheek*	*-moqi.ʌŋ.	yu·lgɪš	*nest, sheath*	yu·lgi.ʌŋ.
tʌliš	*swaddling clothes*	tʌli.ʌŋ.			

Final -ɪš (probably š?) + -ʌŋ → -ʌŋ:

ɣeniš	*gold*	ɣeʌŋ (V. § 45.)
təriš	*doorpost*	təraŋ (*doorframe*).
tsiɪš, tsiri·š	*rott*	tsiraŋ, tsira·ŋ.

34. We have seen the principal ways in which the plurals of Burushaski nouns are formed, but not all Burushaski nouns are endowed with both singular and plural forms and some are capable of a double inflexion for the plural. Some examination of these phenomena is necessary. The material at my command will not enable me to treat them exhaustively or finally, but a few general principles may emerge which may form a basis for future closer investigation.

A noun may occur:

i. in the singular only, with a singular form.
ii. in the plural only, with a singular form or with a plural form.
iii. in both the singular and plural with a singular form, and
iv. a noun already producing reactions as a plural may be given a plural ending.

35. **Nouns occurring only in the singular with a singular form.**

I am not acquainted with any in the h category unless it be the foreign word

Xuda *God*

and of course proper names in general.

In the x category I have some nouns apparently answering this description, but they are probably capable of taking plural endings. E.g.

sa	*sun.*	šadu·r	*nitre.*
hʌlʌnts (pl. form?)	*moon.*	šʌk	*nap of cloth.*
mu·l	*gruel.*	zʌxi·ra	*supplies.*

As will be seen later, one would expect plural forms of nouns denoting substances of which one can have relatively small and large quantities to indicate the latter.

In the y category, abstract nouns do not usually occur in the plural.

Names of liquids, and of plastic or vaporous substances are normally singular, and of a number I have no plural forms. Such are:

bʌŋ	*resin.*	pfu·nts	*dew.*
dɛl	*oil.*	qəi.i	*soup.*
huro·γo	*sweat.*	sɪrqa	*vinegar.*
jo·l	*pus.*	tʌγʌy	*mud.*
xurunč	*mist.*	mʌči	*honey.*
hʌq	*steam.*		

But many nouns of this description are capable of taking plural forms to indicate (I think) relatively large quantities e.g.

tsil	*water.*	mɛl	*wine.*
mʌmu	*milk.*	tʌs	*smoke.*
diltər	*buttermilk.*	mʌska	*butter.*

Cp. also § 45.

The fact that comes to light, therefore, is not that names of liquids necessarily lack plurals, but that, liquids *start* by being singular.

Names of metals, as might be expected, are singular, but:

γenɪš *gold* has the plural γenʌŋ.

36. Nouns plural in force and singular in form.

The following may be treated as plurals:

h category

ho·l	*army.*		
ro·m	*tribe.*		
girʌm	*community.*		

x category

hʌnjil	*charcoal.*	šʌšər	*kind of weed.*
ma·ruč	*pepper.*	bu·kʌk	*beans.*
pfʌmul	*fruit.*	gərk	*peas.*
muka	*small shot.*	girgɪr	*pulse, "dāl masūr."*

y category A number of names of granular and composite substances. Many of these, however, have also super-plurals i. e. forms with a plural suffix, V. § 41:

bo	*seed grain.*	sa.o	*sand.*
brʌs	*rice.*	šʌkər	*granular sugar.*
gɛ	*snow.*	gu·r	*wheat.*
pfʌlo	*grain.*		

Others are:

biške	*fur.*	ho.i	*green vegetables.*
dilk	*manure.*	po·t	*bran.*
γul	*chaff.*	sʌlʌt	*moustache.*

37. Nouns plural in force & plural in form.

h category nil.

x category

ainakuts	*eyeglasses.*	*-pinɪšo	*hair.*
čʌplimuts	*sandals.*	hu·čo (?)	*(a pair of) boots, "pabboos."*
dumo·yo (?)	*kind of cake.*		
hi.o (?)	*hail.*	*-lta·nts	*eyebrow.*
		ta·lumuts	*mumps.*

y category

*-ʌščiŋ	*small of the back.*	me·yɛŋ	*snowstorm.*
čemɪliŋ	*poison.*	mili.ɛŋ	*gunpowder.*
*-čokurʌŋ	*forelock.*	pfɛtiŋ	*ashes.*
dʌγo·ʌŋ	*flour.*	pfimiŋ	*foam.*
ɛšpurʌŋ	*mane.*	tʌbʌŋ	*bridle.*
gupʌltiŋ	*trousers.*	tili.ɛŋ	*saddle.*
γoyʌŋ	*hair.*	*-wʌškičiŋ	*gums.*

38. Nouns used in the Singular and Plural with singular form.

h category

sis	*person.*
	people.
jʌ·m	*relation.*
	relations.
kuyo·č	*population.*
	subjects.

x category a) the names of most fruits. E.g.

bʌ·lt	*apple.*
	apples.

birʌnč	*mulberry.*
	mulberries.
ju	*apricot.*
	apricots.

In these and many similar cases the same word is used to name the tree, but it is then a y noun and takes a distinctive plural form:

baˑlt	*apple-tree*	baˑltiŋ.
birʌnč	*mulberry-tree*	biraˑŋ.
ju	*apricot-tree*	joŋ.

b) the names of some animals:

burm sg. and pl.	*markhor.*	huyɛˑs sg. and pl.	*sheep, goat.*
giri	*ibex.*	girgir	*female mallard.*
bula	*ram chikor.*	tsirˑ	*she-goat.*

c) a few miscellaneous words:

dʌdər sg. and pl.	*scree.*	ɣʌširˑl sg. and pl.	*sticks.*
duˑstsʌk	*kitchen utensils.*	*-mɛ	*tooth.*
gərk	*peas.*		

y category gɛ sg. and pl. *snow.* tiˑk sg. and pl. *earth.*
čaˑi *tea.* tuˑk *short period*
duˑstsʌk *miscellaneous* *of time.*
"things."

39. We have seen that many singular nouns are used with the powers of plurals, e.g. they take the verb in the plural. Whether nouns bearing plural forms are ever used with the powers of singulars is less certain. Some nouns used as singulars have endings of the form of plural suffixes, but this may be merely due to coincidence:

Such are:

hʌlʌnts		*moon.*
pfaˑnts	sg. and pl.	*cockscomb.*
pfuˑnts		*deer.*
tərkoˑŋ	sg. and pl.	*feathers of arrow.*

40. As I have already said the above data are not to be pressed too hard to supply detailed conclusions. It is more than probable that forms can be found of which I am ignorant. They do, however,

think, provide a fair view of the general trend of the language in regard to matters of number and we may safely accept a few general ideas which they suggest. These general ideas will also facilitate the examination of the uses of the suffixes of individuality and multiple unity: -ʌn and -ik and of the employment of Double Plurals. Words denoting:

i. Liquids, vapours and plastic substances are essentially singular but may be given plural forms.
ii. Communal bodies are plural, or may be treated as such.
iii. Coarsely composite substances are essentially plural and are plural in force. They are singular in form but some may further be given plural suffixes.
iv. Finely granular and composite substances and some composite objects are plural in force and are either singular or plural in form. In the former case some are liable to have secondary plural forms.
v. Fruit and some animals have the same form for singular and plural and it is difficult in some cases to say which is to be regarded as the primary conception.

41. Super-Plurals and Double Plurals.

Some nouns of singular form, already producing plural reactions may be further given plural suffixes; it is convenient to call these forms "super-plurals." Cp. § 36.

There are also a few nouns, plural in form, which may take a second plural suffix and so become "double plurals."

The general effect of Super-Plurals is to indicate relatively large quantities. They are commonest in nouns denoting cereals. So:

brʌs	brʌsiŋ, -miŋ	*rice.*	həri	hɛrɛŋ	*barley.*
gərk	gərkɛnts	*peas.*	mʌkai	mʌkaiˑɛnts	*Indian corn.*
guˑr	guˑriŋ, -ɛŋ	*wheat.*	pfʌlo	pfʌloˑiŋ	*grain.*

Other analogous examples are:

baˑlt	baˑltiše	*apples.*	biške	biškɛmiŋ	*fur, hair.*
hʌni	hʌnɛnts	*kernels.*	gɛ	gečiŋ	*snow.*

ɣe.iŋ ɣe.iŋčiŋ *grapes.* du·stsʌk du·stsʌkiŋ *miscellaneous articles.*
dʌdər dʌdərintʌ, -šo *scree.*

In cases like gɛ gecin; dilk dilkiŋ.

I am not sure that there may not be some change of meaning, e.g. snow — snowdrifts; manure — dunghills.

Note also: girʌm girʌmičiŋ *communities.*

Double Plurals.

In words like:

hučo hučomuts *pabboos (boots), pairs of pabboos.*
gupʌltiŋ gupʌltiŋčiŋ *trousers, pairs of trousers*

the function of the double plural is obvious, and if you consider "saddle" as plural a double plural is a convenience, hence:

tilieŋ tilieŋčiŋ *saddle, saddles.*

There is an extension of meaning in:

tsəriš (sg.) *one part of doorframe.*
tsəraŋ (pl.) *complete doorframe (posts, lintel, sill).*
tsəraŋčiŋ (2-pl.) *door frames.*

See also § 28. 14 -tiŋ.

42. In Burushaski the singular of a noun is occasionally used where the conception is obviously plural. Thus: dɛn, *year* with a numeral. instead of dɛniŋ:

to·rimi dɛn xa *for ten years.*
to·rimi dɛnulo *in ten years.*
milčinər dʌltʌs yɛtsʌm *in our eye we had seen him handsome = he appeared handsome to our eyes.*
mi milčinɛ yɛtsunʌn *we saw with our eye(s).*

Cp. also § 128. III.

43. **The Suffix -ʌn.**

The suffix -ʌn, -ɛn, which is probably to be identified with the -ʌn of hʌn *one*, is added in general to singular forms of nouns and noun-equivalents and may carry the ordinary case-endings and post-positions. When added to a word ending in -o a w-glide is commonly developed. The following are its principal uses:

1. In general it is used to isolate a single unit, laying stress on its individuality. It corresponds in force to the English "indefinite article." Its use is not obligatory. Examples:

ʂʌčo dəro·wʌn bila *it is an easy business.*

but also

bu·t do·m du·ro bila *it is a very difficult business.*
u·ŋɛ tʌ·pʌn šu·ʌ bila *your arrangement is a good one.*
mʌtʌn bušai.ɛnər *to a distant country.*
yai.iŋɛnulo *in a mill.*
gusʌnmo *of a woman.*
belisʌntsum *from a sheep.*
mu.i·yɛn dimʌnimi *a son of hers was born.*
i. e. *a son was born to her.*
i·mo i·yɛn niyɛn *taking a son of his with him.*
i·mo šʌdəʌnər qau nɛ *calling to a servant of his.*

2. It is used to reinforce the word hʌn *one* etc. Here again its use is optional:

hʌn duro·wʌn *an affair.*
hʌn guntsʌnulo *one day.*
hin pəri.ɛnmu gʌnɛ *for a fairy.*
hin but dʌltʌs hilesʌn *a very handsome boy.*
hʌn tsirʌnɛ du·ʌn *a goat's kid (one kid of a goat).*

but,

ko·s bi kɛ hʌn belis *this is just one sheep.*
X. . . ɛ hin i bʌm *X had one son.*

3. It is occasionally used with a noun which is made definite by the accompaniment of a demonstrative adjective:

ko·t tʌɣʌyʌn *this mud (referring to a small quantity).*
ɛ·s haiwa·nʌn *that (one) animal.*
guse hʌn bʌlʌsʌn hʌn iser seibi *this (one) bird says to that one.*
kin giya·sʌnər izzʌt ɛtuma *you paid respect to this (one) small child.*
ɛ·s haiwa·nʌn umulo kɛ aiyʌčʌm *I won't get that (one) animal anywhere.*

4. It is used with adjectives employed substantivally, with or without han, and with adjectives used predicatively. In the latter case the adjective may equally be regarded as a noun-equivalent: *it is black = it is a black one.* It is not attached to an adjective used attributively, but is appended to the noun.

ɛsetsum uyuˈman dotsuma	*you have sent a bigger one than it.*
šatiˈluˈan bam	*he was powerful.*
isɛ juwanan . . . bi	*there is one like it.*
han matuman bi, han buruman bi	*one is black, one is white.*
guse haˈyur jotan bim	*this horse was small.*
ja uˈŋ aqəlkisan ba	*you are my sensible fellow.*
iˈnɛ yatisər bərenin uyuˈman ba	*look at his head, it is big.*
besan ɣunikisan	*some evil thing.*

5. It has the force of a singular suffix when used with a noun or pronoun, of which the form is not definitely plural, but which is habitually, or at least frequently, used with plural force:

duˈstsakan	*an implement.*	duˈstsak	*implements.*
sisan	*a person.*	sis	*person, people.*
baˈltan	*an apple.*	baˈlt sg. and pl., baˈltišo	*apples.*
han qhiˈɛn	*a pebble.*	qhiˈɛ	*pebbles, gravel.*
hin jaˈman	*a relation.*	jaˈm	*relations.*
gərken	*a pea.*	gərk	*peas.*
Tərakutsan	*a man of the Tərakuts.*	Tərakuts	*the people of the T. clan.*
menan	*who?, anyone someone.*	men	*who? (pl.), any people, some people.*

hirər aminan jaˈm jamaˈatane	*some relation of the man's.*
uŋ menan ba?	*who are you?*
uŋ juwanan menan kuli apai	*there is no one like you.*
menan hirane iˈmo aˈltan yu	*some man's own two sons.*
han huyesan *a goat, sheep*; huyes	*small cattle,* alta huyes *two goats.*

The -an of besan *anything* etc. appears also to be this suffix. Note also:

berum kutsan nimi	*some days passed.*
berum denantsum	*after some years.*
toˈrimi saˈatanər asiˈr	*close on 10 o'clock,*

where kuts and den have undoubtedly a plural significance.

6. It appears in Quantitative Adjectives and Pronouns, and is used with nouns denoting quantity and measure whether figuring as nouns or adjectives:

akuˈrum(an)	kiˈrum(an).
toˈrum(an)	teˈrum(an).
	beˈrum(an).
beruman guntsiŋ nimi	*a certain number of days passed.*

Occasionally the -an is transferred from berum to the accompanying noun, see the illustrations at the end of subparagraph 5 just above, and see also § 170.

hinuman, hanuman *alone*

seem to be a parallel formation to beruman.

kaman, pyuwan } *a little, a small quantity.*

torim čuqan guˈr	*10 measures of wheat.*
čutan tsil	*a little water, a drop of water.*
lukan šapik	*a little bread.*
ɣeniš xəran æčimi	*he gave me a "xər" of gold.*
kaman sis C. . . ɛ ka manuman	*a few people accompanied C.*

7. It is used as a suffix with numerals (except "one"). It may apparently be used with any cardinal number, whether used adjectivally with a plural noun, or pronominally.

It occurs regularly in the h forms of the numerals *two* and *three*. The significance is similar to that of the English "couple of," "triplet," "quintet" etc. v. §§ 201, 203.

iˈnɛ iˈskɛn yu bam	*he had three ("a trio" of) sons.*
aˈltan bitaiyo bam	*there were a couple of "bitans".*
men aˈltan	*any two people.*

altəran šadəršu — *a score of servants, 20 servants.*
guyumo a·ltan isken goyerumišo guyu *your own two or 3 beloved sons.*
wa·lto tsundowan diltəriŋ — *4 or 5 (dishes of) buttermilk.*
turmatsundowan mariŋ sis — *(a batch of) 15 superior men.*
a·ltulanmo — *in a couple of days.*

but,

a·lta huyes — *two goats.*
a·lta i·skumuts — *two young ones.*

8. It is used with certain parts of verbs used substantivally, viz.
The Infinitive Form used as Noun Agent v. § 393. 1.
The Infinitive Form used as p pc. pass. v. §§ 394 and 395.

9. When two nouns are placed in juxtaposition as alternatives the suffix may be added to the second only:
huyes·s bu·a·n mazəreṭs du·si ke *if a goat or cow climb on to the grave.*
mirširka·rtiŋ talo altambu·an *seven or eight huntsmen.*

It may here be remarked that there are two other -an suffixes which it is difficult to connect semantically with this one:

a) -an appears as the termination of certain verbal forms, e.g. in the plural of the Preterite and Future tenses.

b) a suffix -an is added sometimes to the Static pc. when the sense is definite, not indefinite. Examples will be found in §§ 377 c, 379 b & c, 389 b and 390.

44. The Suffix -ik.

The suffix -ik is added to plural forms of nouns or noun-equivalents, or to forms not specifically plural but having a plural significance. I have met with only two or three instances where it bears case-inflection, viz.,

menikuər, meniktsum, o·ltalike and one or two other trans. nom.s.

1. When used with nouns in the plural it seems to have the effect of representing a number of individuals as an entity i.e. *a collection* or *group.*

It may be rendered by English *some, a party of, a number of, a quantity of:*

balašu·ik čal eti·e — *some birds were quarrelling.*
pfitimutsik — *some cakes of bread, some bread.*
gušiŋentsik / hikum gušiŋentsik — *(a party of) women.*
hirik — *the (body of) men.*
urkai.ik — *(some) wolves, a pack of wolves.*

Hamačə·tiŋe ke uyu·ik Ultarər o·ram
the Hamačə·tiŋ too had sent their sons to Ultar.

hikum o·šo.ik duman — *a party of guests arrived.*
taljik (taljo + -ik) — *some pigeons.*
(guyu·e) u.i·kičiŋik o·s — *give (your sons) names.*
bəru.e giyaliŋik — *some (cakes of) buckwheat bread.*

2. With plurals of adjectives used as nouns, it seems principally to reinforce the plural; but there is perhaps always an underlying collective sense.

but aqəlkiyentsik nama·n Paŋču·ər barenina
you, going very prudently, have a look at P.
i·ne u·e yu· bu·t mariŋek (-ik?) bam
those sons of his were a fine lot.

γuni·ki.entsik — *evil persons.*
gakačimutsik — *stammerers.*
daγai.iku.ik — *stout persons.*
lašumutsik — *gluttons.*

3. Its most important use is to mark the plural of nouns and pronouns which have no special form for the plural. In such cases the singular may be distinguished by the suffix -an.

sis — *person, people.*

sisan — *a person.* sisik — *people.*
sisike tsak fatan eta·n *some people have opened the sluice.*
gala sg. pl. — *herd.* galai.ik — *herds.*
mu·k sg. pl. — *pearl.* mu·kik — *pearls.*

Under this heading comes its use with the Interrogative and Indefinite Pronoun men = *who?, some people, any people.*